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NORMANDY AND ITS NEIGHBOURS,
900–1250

Essays for David Bates

Edited by

David Crouch and Kathleen Thompson



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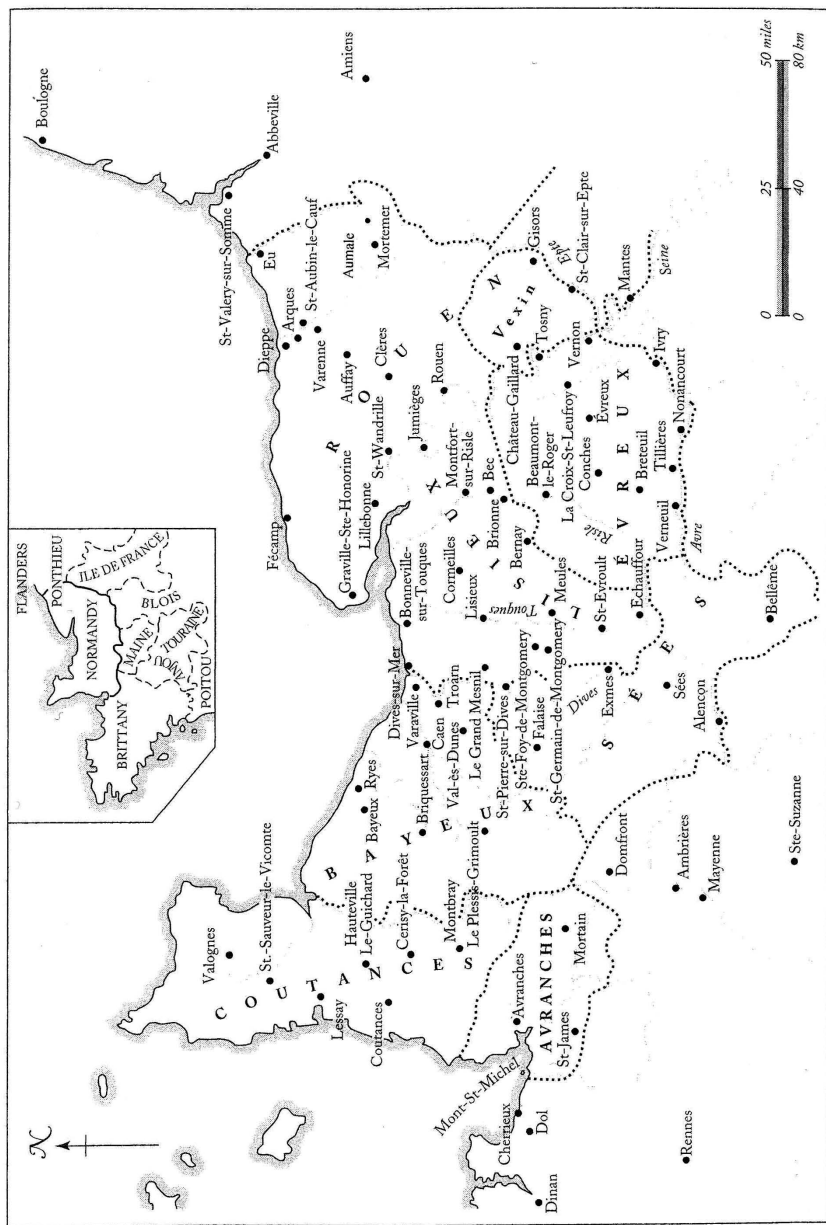
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Map 1. 'Normandy and her Neighbours'. R. Allen Brown, *The Normans and the Norman Conquest* (London, Constable, 1969), pp. xiv–xv. Reproduced by kind permission of Constable & Robinson.

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Archives Départementales
ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference</i>
ASC	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , cited by year (corrected in brackets if necessary), edition specified at first citation
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
Bates, <i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)</i> , ed. by D. Bates (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
BL	British Library, London
CDF	<i>Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland</i> , vol. I: 918–1206, ed. by J. H. Round (London: HMSO, 1899)
DB	<i>Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis</i> , ed. by A. Farley, 2 vols (London: Record Commission, 1783)
Dudo	Dudo, <i>De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum</i> , ed. by Jules Lair, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 23 (Caen: Le Blanc-Hardel, 1865)
Eadmer, <i>HN</i>	Eadmer, <i>Historia novorum in Anglia</i> , ed. by Martin Rule, Rolls Series, 81 (London: Longman, 1884)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>

Gervase	Gervase of Canterbury, <i>The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury</i> , ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 73 (London, 1879–80)
GND	<i>Gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni</i> , ed. and trans. by E. van Houts, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992–95)
GR	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings</i> , ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998–99)
HH	Henry of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People</i> , ed. and trans. by D. Greenway, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
Howden, <i>Chronica</i>	Roger of Howden, <i>Chronica</i> , ed. by William Stubbs, 4 vols, Rolls Series, 51 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868–71)
Howden, <i>Gesta</i>	Roger of Howden, <i>Gesta regis Henrici secundi</i> , ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 49 (London: Longman, 1867)
Howlett, CRSHR	<i>Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I</i> , ed. by Richard Howlett, 4 vols, Rolls Series, 82 (London: Longmans, 1884–90)
HSJ	<i>Haskins Society Journal</i>
JMedH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
JW	John of Worcester, <i>Chronicle of John of Worcester</i> , ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995–98)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Newburgh	William of Newburgh, <i>Historia rerum Anglicarum</i> , in Howlett, CRSHR, I, 1–408, and II, 409–53

ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
OV	<i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–80)
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64)
RADN	<i>Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066</i> , ed. by Marie Fauroux, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 36 (Caen: Caron, 1961)
RRAN	<i>Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154</i> , ed. by H. W. C. Davis and others, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913–69)
S	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968)
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
VCH	<i>The Victoria County History</i> , cited with county name
Wace	Wace, <i>Le Roman de Rou</i> , ed. by Anthony-J. Holden, 3 vols, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Picard, 1970–73)
WP	<i>The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers</i> , ed. and trans. by R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)

APPRECIATION

David Crouch and Kathleen Thompson

David Bates's academic career has centred on the relationship of Normandy and England. From his doctoral work under the supervision of Frank Barlow at Exeter on the life and works of the Conqueror's half-brother, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, to his magisterial edition of the *acta* of William the Conqueror, David has explored the background to and outcomes of what has always been, for the English-speaking world, the most familiar event of the Middle Ages: the Norman Conquest.

In his first monograph, *Normandy Before 1066*, he argued for continuity between the Norman duchy and the Carolingian institutions that had preceded it, and in so doing he opened up the debates of postwar continental historiography to an English audience, placing the Norman Conquest in a much broader European context. The book was unique at the time in the way it synthesized current Franco-German scholarship and presented Norman history in a new context for Anglophone medievalists. It is this openness to influences beyond territorial and linguistic boundaries that has continued to characterize the work of David Bates and has gained him the respect of European and North American scholars.

During his period in the History Department of University College Cardiff, David published two important articles: one on the land pleas of the reign of William I and the other on the origins of the justiciarship. It was an indication of his growing stature that in 1986 he was commissioned to compile a bibliography of Domesday Book to coincide with the novocentenary celebrations of the preparation of Domesday. In 1989, as work progressed on his edition of the Conqueror's acts, he published his first study of William the Conqueror, and 1990 saw the publication of the first volume of the Longman 'Medieval World' series which he directed, suitably a volume by one of his own former students. During this time he built scholarly networks that culminated in 1992 in the highly successful 'England

and Normandy in the Middle Ages' conference, which he organized jointly with Anne Curry, then of the University of Reading.

David has always encouraged academic links. The Reading conference brought together English-speaking historians and their French counterparts, welcoming not only those who were the leading specialists in their field, but also early career and independent scholars. His appointment as Edwards Professor of Medieval History at the University of Glasgow in 1994 gave him the opportunity to continue this approach, offering the resources of a much larger university and acquaintance with a wider range of colleagues and researchers. He encouraged French students to study in Glasgow and organized exchanges of staff with French universities, while accomplishing the demanding task of bringing together several formerly independent departments.

His scholarship was meanwhile recognized internationally; he presented papers to seminars organized by the Atelier de Recherche sur les Textes Médiévaux (ARTEM) in Nancy and the Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo in Spoleto. In 1999 he was Professeur Invité at the École Nationale des Chartes in Paris and in May 2003 Directeur d'Études Invité at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. In 1998 his edition of the acts of William I was published, and his achievement was recognized by the award in June 2000 of an honorary doctorate at the Université de Caen.

David's work on the history benchmarking statement in the 1990s and his period as a teaching quality assessor presaged his movement onto a broader stage, and in 2003 he took up the post of Director of the Institute of Historical Research in the University of London. This was an opportunity to operate in a national context for a historian with experience of both the Welsh and Scottish higher education systems. Typically he used it to foster international links, maintaining dialogues with Japanese colleagues through the Anglo-Japanese conferences and with Russian colleagues through the Institute of General History in the Russian Academy of Sciences. He also provided support and sponsorship to a project to digitize the contents of the archives and libraries of the city of Jerusalem. He was Vice President of the Royal Historical Society from 2003 to 2006 and promoted debate about the place of History in national life through conferences and participation in the 'Why History Matters' initiative. In 2006 he was one of twenty-five historians awarded special centenary fellowships by the Historical Association for outstanding service to History.

David continued to be active in his own research field, however, and in 2003 was joint organizer of the conference held at the University of Exeter, 'The Limits of Medieval Biography', to honour his former supervisor. Its proceedings were

subsequently published as *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*. In 2008 he returned to full-time teaching and research in a new post at the University of East Anglia and was appointed Ford's Lecturer in British History at the University of Oxford for 2009/10 on the theme 'The Normans and Empire'. In September 2009 he took up a visiting post as Professeur Invité à l'Université de Caen Basse-Normandie, grâce au soutien de la région Basse-Normandie, thus returning to his academic roots in the Conqueror's own town.

It is, however, not simply David's professional acumen and dedication that are admired by his colleagues, but the warmth of his character. Over several decades, he has dispensed a great deal of encouragement and contributed generously to the current flourishing of his field. At University College Cardiff, his earliest research students were part time, but increasing numbers came to learn from David's rigorous but effective methods, as well as his insistence that French history needs to be studied from French archives. Many of his former students are now among the leading historians of the period. David's direction of the influential Longman series, the 'Medieval World', also enabled him to advance the careers of many other scholars through his guidance and support, and, when he relinquished the post of Director of the Institute of Historical Research, it is typical of David's generosity that he established bursaries to support the work of young scholars there. It is these personal qualities, as well as the achievements of a historian of the first rank, that have motivated the authors of the papers that follow to mark a significant anniversary for David by presenting him with a *Festschrift*.

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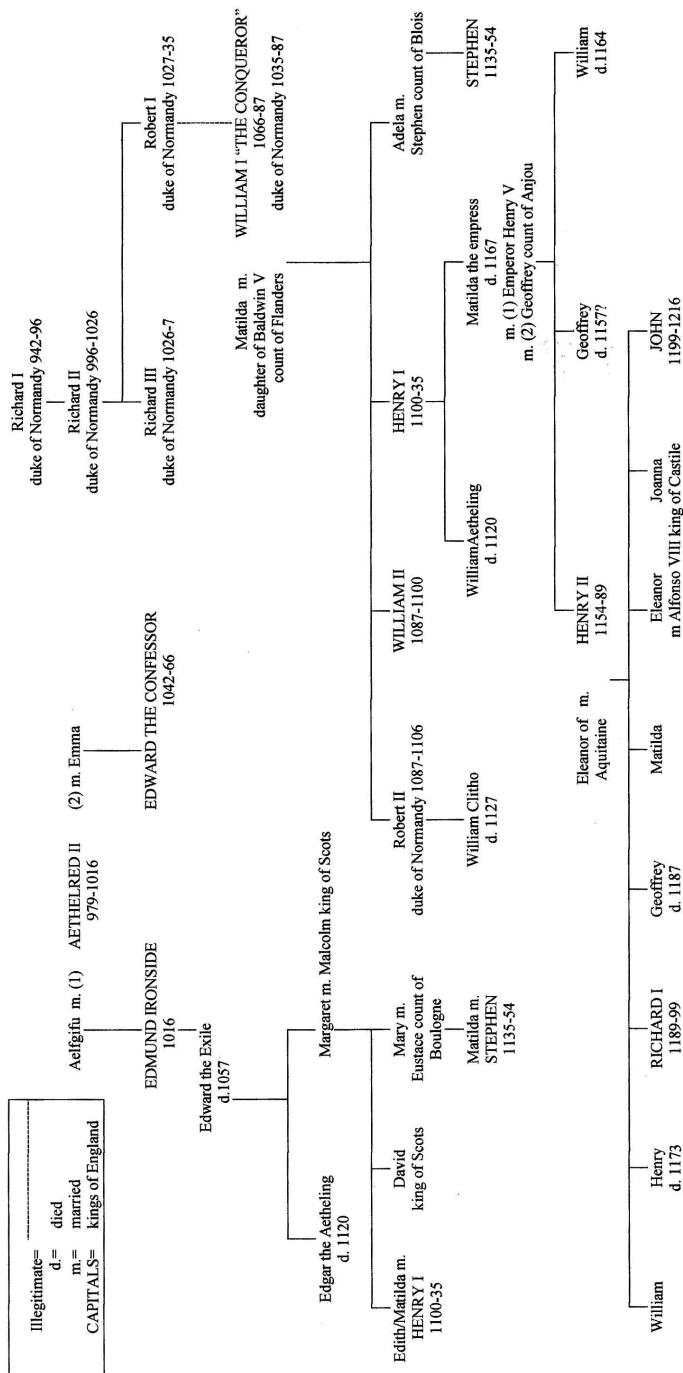


Figure 1. The kings of England and the dukes of Normandy.

Normandy and the Norman Dynasty

NORMANDY'S EARLY HISTORY SINCE *NORMANDY BEFORE 1066*

Janet L. Nelson

N*ormandy Before 1066* was the pioneering and prescient contribution to scholarship that established David Bates's reputation. Thanks not least to the book's publication, his subject has attracted further attention during the last quarter-century from a variety of perspectives including the comparative one. It was David's contention that, in terms of reliable evidence, and even with the benefit of archaeological discoveries, historians venturing into the earliest phase of Normandy's origins, the ninth and tenth centuries, feel themselves in 'darkness' compared with the eleventh century's 'bright sunlight'.¹ Darkness is relative, though: David's book began in evidentially mottled light and shade. A notable feature of the opening chapter dealing with the earlier tenth century was its reliance on information derived from the work of Flodoard (893/94–966), author of *Annales* written up more or less contemporaneously year by year from 919 to 966, and, in the 950s, of the *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*: in both, self-consciously continuing two solidly Carolingian traditions of historical writing with roots in late antique genres.²

I should like to thank David Crouch and especially Kathleen Thompson for their editorial help and support.

¹ David Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (London: Longman, 1982), p. 38.

² Flodoard's *Annales* (*Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. by P. Lauer (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1905)) were conceived as continuing the so-called *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, continued from 861 to 882 by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims: Michel Sot, *Un historien et son église au X^e siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), pp. 83–86; cf. *The Annals of St-Bertin*, trans. by Janet L. Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 9–16. Flodoard's *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* (hereafter *HRE*) is now available in an excellent new edition by Martina Stratmann, *MGH Scriptores*, 36 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), with an invaluable introduction and commentary, which

Connoisseurs of the earliest phase of Norman history will have noted David's determination, at the outset, to treat Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *Gesta* as 'thoroughly untrustworthy'.³ Of course, *Gesta* authors do not profess to be historians in anything like the ancient or modern senses, and Dudo's literary antecedents are poets, rhetoricians, and hagiographers.⁴ The present paper in David's honour takes as its methodological starting-point the priority he gives to near-contemporary evidence especially that in the annalistic genre. The literary scholar Ad Putter, citing George Santayana to the effect that 'those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it', recently pointed out that medieval authors of Arthurian stories who certainly could not remember the past still believed themselves to be writing history, 'which they conceived as a back-formation from the present: since you were bound to repeat it, reading "history" would help you understand why'.⁵ In what follows, I briefly survey three topics in Normandy's early history on which historians have focused in the last quarter-century or so: the conversion of the Normans; the alleged marriage of Rollo and Popa; and the archaeological evidence for Rouen and its environs. Much has sprung up on this fertile ground.

The Conversion of the Normans

The first Flodoard-citation in *Normandy Before 1066* is from the *Historia*'s reference to the granting of 'certain *pagi* bordering the sea-coast, along with the city of Rouen' to Northmen.⁶ It has its context in his account in the *HRE* of the activities of Archbishop Harvey of Reims: 'He laboured hard for the softening (*mitigatio*)

completely supersedes that of Iohannes Heller and G. Waitz, MGH Scriptores, 13 (Hannover: Hahn, 1881). This work's title and content suggest the triple purpose of city history, *Gesta episcoporum*, and a more comprehensive Church history: see Stratmann's Introduction, pp. 3–26, judiciously gathering the findings of German and French historiography.

³ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, p. xii.

⁴ Cf. Dudo of St-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. with introd. and notes by Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. xviii–xxiii.

⁵ Ad Putter, 'King Arthur in Literature', forthcoming in the proceedings of the Symposium on *Legendary Rulers*, ed. by Phillipa Hardman (Reading: University of Reading). A French version of this essay is currently available as 'La Famille d'Arthur dans *Le Petit Bruit* et le Cycle Post-Vulgate', in *L'Imaginaire de la parenté dans les romans arthuriens (XII^e–XIV^e siècles)*, ed. by M. Aurell and C. Girbea (Brepols: Turnhout, 2010), pp. 85–94. Putter's insight is equally applicable to the categories we differentiate as history and myth.

⁶ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, p. 2.

and conversion of the Northmen, until at length, after the battle which Count Robert fought against them at Chartres, they began to receive the faith of Christ, after the granting to them of certain *pagi*.⁷ In his *Annales* under the year 923, Flodoard referred back to the same event in mentioning 'the lands beyond the River Epte given so that the Northmen should convert to Christianity and keep the peace'.⁸ Clearly, in Flodoard's mind, the 911 grant was associated with conversion. In the *HRE* passage, Flodoard continued: '[Archbishop Harvey] also, at the request of Guy, the then [Arch]bishop of Rouen, sent the said Archbishop a set of twenty-three capitula culled from various authoritative writings of the holy Fathers, on how those Northmen ought be treated. [Harvey] was eager, too, to consult the pope about this matter. [Harvey] did not cease to make himself thoroughly familiar with the papal recommendations as to what action should be taken with regard to the conversion of this people.'⁹ The battle of Chartres can be dated to 20 July in (probably) 911, and the grant of the *pagi* evidently belongs in the aftermath of this Frankish victory.¹⁰

Archbishop Guy had been in post since 892, and he had cooperated with successive archbishops of Reims at Church councils in 892, 900, and 909.¹¹ He is likely

⁷ *HRE*, IV, xiv, p. 407.

⁸ Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 923, p. 16, referring back to 911.

⁹ *HRE*, IV, xiv, p. 407: '[Heriveus] ad petitionem quoque Wittonis tunc Rothomagensis episcopo collecta ex diversis auctoritatibus sanctorum partum XXIII capitula, qualiter ipsi Nordmanni tractari deberent, eidem archiepiscopo delegavit. Insuper etiam Romanum pontificem super huiusmodi negotio consulere studuit. Ad cuius consulta, que circa gentis huius conversionem exequenda forent, insinuare non destitit.'

¹⁰ Charles the Simple, charter no. 92 (14 March 918), *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France (893–923)*, ed. by Philippe Lauer, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1949), I, 211: 'pars ipsius abbatiæ quam annuimus Normannis Sequanensibus videlicet Rolloni suisque comitibus, pro tutela regni' (the part of that abbacy [of La-Croix-Saint-Ouen] which we have granted to [...] Rollo and his companions for the protection of the realm). For the non-contemporary sources on the battle of Chartres, see Horst Zettel, *Das Bild der Normannen und die Normaneneinfälle in Westfränkischen, Ostfränkischen, und Angelsächsischen Quellen des 8. Bis 11. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: W. Fink, 1977), pp. 279–80.

¹¹ *Recueil des actes d'Eudes Ier, roi de France (888–898)*, ed. by Robert-Henri Bautier (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1967), no. 30 (30 September 892, issued at Cosne-sur-Loire), p. 133; Council at Reims, 900, *PL*, 132, cols 673–76; Council of Trosly, 909, Gerhard Schmitz, 'Das Konzil von Trosly (909): Überlieferung und Quellen', *Deutsches Archiv*, 33 (1977), 341–434 (pp. 343–46); and Isolde Schröder, *Die Westfränkische Synoden von 888–987 und ihre Überlieferung*, MGH Hilfsmittel, 3 (Munich: Hahn, 1980), pp. 153–57, 158–59, 194–95; Michel Bur, 'Herivaëus von Reims', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. by L. Lutz (Munich: Artemis, 1989), IV, cols 2157–58.

to have been involved in the transfer of the fisc of Pitres by Charles the Simple to his chancellor Ernust in 905 and was more certainly involved in approving the transfer of the relics of Saint-Marcoul organized by Charles in 906.¹² There is no evidence for the idea that he had fled his see before 911.¹³ Guy's request to Harvey was sent in or before 914.¹⁴ It clearly came after a series of efforts to convert Northmen, with patchy and often disappointing outcomes.

The response to Harvey of Pope John X (914–28) and Harvey's capitula sent to Guy are not merely conventional exercises. They are carefully calibrated to address the particular needs of a churchman faced by a pagan warlord and his war-band.¹⁵ Harvey quotes Guy's request as being for 'advice on those who have been rebaptized, and then returned like sows to their mire and dogs to their vomit [II Peter 2. 22] to the customs of paganism just as they had before baptism throwing themselves into sportive delights in the abominable practices of the pagans, as well as on those who have not yet been worthy to achieve baptism'. Pope John too quoted Guy: the Northmen 'have been baptized and rebaptized and after baptism have lived like pagans and with the practices of pagans'.¹⁶ Guy sounds weary. If Rollo had been active in Neustria in the two decades or so before Charles the Simple granted him Neustrian *pagi*, he could well have been amongst those 'baptized and rebaptized' by Guy.¹⁷ The notion that Northmen played the Christians' ritual system is echoed by a near contemporary, Notker the Stammerer, whose famous story of baptismal repeat-visits of Northmen, projected back to the reign of Louis the Pious ('on one occasion, as linen garments were not ready in sufficient numbers, one of the older

¹² Charles the Simple, *Recueil des actes*, ed. by Lauer, no. 51 (905), pp. 112–13, no. 53 (906), pp. 114–16. See Felice Lifshitz, 'The Migration of Neustrian Relics in the Viking Age', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (1995), 175–92 (p. 183).

¹³ As suggested by Walther Vogel, *Die Normannen und das Fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1906), pp. 392–93.

¹⁴ *HRE*, IV, xiv, p. 407, n. 7. The twenty-three capitula are printed in *PL*, 132, cols 661–74. The death-date of Archbishop Guy is not known precisely: see Olivier Guillot, 'La Conversion des Normands peu après 911', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 24 (1981), 101–16, 181–219, esp. 115–16, suggesting 914.

¹⁵ Gerhard Schmitz, 'Heriveus von Reims (900–922)', *Francia*, 6 (1978), 59–105 (p. 77, n. 72 establishes the authenticity of the text).

¹⁶ The letter of John X is in *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, ed. by Harald Zimmermann, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), I, no. 38, pp. 65–67. For the manuscript dossier, see Sot, *Un historien*, pp. 233–34.

¹⁷ Annie Renoux, 'Rollo', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. by Lutz, VII, cols 966–67.

men, offered a cut-up and resewn shirt, angrily said, "I have gone through this washing business here twenty times already and always been clad before in clothes of perfect whiteness; but a sack like this is more fit for swineherds than for soldiers"), was told precisely 'to show in what slight estimation the Northmen hold faith and baptism'.¹⁸ That stories are parallel does not make them true. But Archbishop Harvey's methods sound as if they were designed to meet new conditions, in which success could now be imagined, thanks to the Frankish victory at Chartres, the active engagement of Charles the Simple, and, in 914, the mobilization of a pope who understood, like his predecessor Gregory I, that *tyrones ad fidem* deserved a softer approach than veterans.¹⁹ Conversion, individually as collectively, was a protracted process. But paganism was perhaps not so tough a nut to crack as hagiographical topoi suggest. It is the case that Flodoard, in his annalistic mentions of these Northmen from 923 and later, does not mention paganism among them; and the evidence of Charles the Simple's grant (918) to Saint-Germain-des-Prés of the abbey of La-Croix-Saint-Ouen and its lands, 'except for the part of that abbacy which we have granted to the Seine Northmen, namely Rollo and his companions, for the protection of the realm', suggests the attractions for Rollo and company of working with royal and aristocratic patrons and managers of Christian shrines.²⁰

The main theme, as Flodoard's word-choice indicated, was *softening* the hearts of Northmen. Harvey recalled Ambrose's saying, in the context of penance: 'Moderation should temper justice.'²¹ It was never too late for a change of heart, never too late to repent. Saul became Paul; the persecuting Constantine became the Church's protector; Clovis and his people found Faith. Church law forbade the eating of food intended for sacrifices, yet four of Harvey's capitula offered forgiveness through penance for this offence, and one (this was Gregory again) commended transforming sacrifices into Christian feasts. There was indeed 'a notably eclectic borrowing' in Harvey's choice of texts.²² There was also an attractively sympathetic approach to Christian raw recruits and backsliders who were would-be settlers.

¹⁸ Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni*, II, 19, ed. by Hans F. Haefele, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, n.s. 12 (Munich: Strauss & Kramer, 1980), p. 90.

¹⁹ See Guillot, 'La Conversion des Normands', p. 105 and n. 24.

²⁰ See above, note 10.

²¹ Capitulum no. 6; and for the following citations, nos 12, 2, 8, and 9; and nos 5, 15, 21, and 23, all in *PL*, 132, cols 663–73.

²² Guillot, 'La Conversion des Normands', p. 115: 'un emprunt singulièrement éclectique'.

The world in which these immigrants operated had been evolving for some eighty years, during which Neustria had been a major focus of contacts between Northmen and the indigenous inhabitants of Neustria. Since 1982, historians have become increasingly aware of the variety of these encounters, setting them within the internal political context of this part of the West Frankish kingdom and its successive dynastic partitions.²³ Annalistic sources provide much of the evidence: historians can proceed by a series of moves from one annalistic bright spot to another, despite the awkward gap between 882 and 919 — a gap partially filled by the contemporary *Annals of Saint-Vaast* from 874–900 and Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* from the 860s to 906.²⁴ Northmen from the early 840s onwards are mentioned increasingly often in contemporary annals, in the violent encounters that have loomed so large in modern French historiography. Since 1982, a new generation of historians has focussed more closely on relations between kings and elites and the playing-out of such interactions in intra-regional rivalries wherein, from the 840s, Northmen were involved not only as enemies but as mercenaries and allies. A striking feature of recent work is the extent to which interactions between Franks, Bretons, and Northmen are now seen to have been negotiated. In these dealings and deals, Carolingian rulers, far from fading from view, continued intermittently to take a very active part.²⁵ Pierre Bauduin, in the most recent full-

²³ Niels Lund, 'Allies of God or Man? The Viking Expansion in a European Perspective', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 45–59; Janet L. Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century II: The Vikings and Others', *TRHS*, 6th series, 12 (2003), 1–28; Simon Coupland, *Carolingian Coinage and the Vikings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), esp. chaps XII, XIII, XIV. For ninth-century Neustria, see *La Neustrie: les pays de la Loire, 650 à 850*, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, 2 vols (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1989); *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve*, ed. by Patrick Périn and Laure-Charlotte Feffer (Rouen: Musées et Monuments départementaux de Seine-Maritime, 1985); Julia M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), esp. pp. 86–115; Hubert Guillotel, 'Une autre marche de Neustrie', in *Onomastique et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. by Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan and Christian Settipani, *Prosopographica et Genealogia*, 3 (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, 2000), pp. 7–13.

²⁴ *Annales Vedastini*, ed. by Bernhard von Simson, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, 12 (Hannover: Hahn, 1909); Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, 50 (Hannover: Hahn, 1890), and now the English translation by Simon MacLean, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

²⁵ See Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992); Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

scale study, locates the origins of Normandy firmly in Carolingian Neustria — a region which had been among the most intensively and continuously administered by Frankish kings from the late fifth century to the ninth.²⁶

The Alleged Marriage of Rollo and Poppa

Since 1982, historians have become increasingly interested in the importance of marriage ties in the forming of elite alliances, dynasties, and polities.²⁷ Where, as often, evidence is lacking, clever hypothesizing has been deployed. It has seemed reasonable to suppose that conquest and settlement situations are often marked, and eased, not just in myth but in reality, by intermarriage of incomers with indigenes.²⁸ Yet there are very few ninth- or early tenth-century cases in which intermarriage of Northmen chieftains with Irish, Scottish, or Anglo-Saxon highborn women is said to have occurred.²⁹ There is also one — but, to my knowledge, only one — very well-attested, and relatively early, case of such a marriage between a

²⁶ Pierre Bauduin, *La Première Normandie X–XI^e siècles: sur les frontières de la haute Normandie. Identité et construction d'une principauté* (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2004); *Les Fondations Scandinaves et les débuts du Duché de Normandie*, Actes publiés sous la direction de Pierre Bauduin (Caen: Centre de recherche archéologiques et historiques médiévales, 2005).

²⁷ See especially Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde Franc (VI^e–X^e siècle); essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995); Laurent Feller, 'Introduction', in *Dots et douaires dans le haut moyen âge*, ed. by François Bougard, Laurent Feller, and Régine Le Jan (Rome: École française de Rome, 2002), pp. 1–25.

²⁸ Patrick Geary, *Women at the Beginning: Origin Myths from the Amazons to the Virgin Mary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); cf. the contributions to *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900*, ed. by Leslie Brubaker and Julia M. H. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) of Walter Pohl, 'Gender and Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 23–43, Bonnie Effros, 'Dressing Conservatively: Women and Brooches as Markers of Ethnic Identity', pp. 165–84, and Janet L. Nelson, 'Gendering Courts in the Early Medieval West', pp. 185–97.

²⁹ See Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles 850–880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 124, 134, 149 (though the evidence on Olaf's Irish and Scottish marriages is late); for the marriage of King Athelstan's sister to King Sihtric of York in 926, see Frank M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 339–40. C. Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2007), pp. 9 and 25, makes the most of Olaf and adds one other possible ninth-century case, in the same late source as that used by Smyth. There is more than one message to be heard in the near-total silence on the subject of intermarriage in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

Norse king and a Frankish royal woman that went wrong: that of Gisela, daughter of Lothar II, who was married off by her brother Hugh, with the encouragement of Charles the Fat, to the Scandinavian chief Godafrið in 882.³⁰ In return for this Carolingian bride, and Frisia (as her *dos* or marriage portion?), Godafrið had to become a Christian, and was 'raised from the font by the emperor'.³¹ Two years later, Hugh plotted with Godafrið against Charles, promising him half the *regnum* as a reward. Charles invited Godafrið and Gisela to have talks on an island in the Rhine near Cleves; but Archbishop Willibert of Cologne, persuaded by Charles's leading counsellor, Duke Henry, lured Gisela away from her husband, and Godafrið was caught and brutally killed.³²

In the early eleventh century, Dudo told a similar story about Rollo of Normandy, though with no such tragic outcome: Dudo, and only Dudo, asserts that the Franks and Archbishop Franco of Rouen advised Charles the Simple to give his daughter Gisela to Rollo in marriage, and that the King did this, giving the land between the River Epte and the sea as 'an allod and property' (*alodum et fundus*).³³ What is known of Charles's own marriage, in 907, and the Carolingian dynastic names given to his legitimate daughters, makes it impossible to credit the story of Rollo's marriage to Gisela.³⁴ In this period, there is no evidence for the marrying-off of a Carolingian woman (or any other highborn woman) at such a young age

³⁰ *Annales Fuldenses* (Mainz version), s.a. 883, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), p. 100. Cf. Janet L. Nelson, 'Messagers et intermédiaires en Occident', in *Voyages et voyageurs à Byzance et en Occident du VI^e au XI^e siècle*, ed. by Alain Dierkens and Jean-Marie Sansterre (Geneva: Droz, 2000), pp. 397–413 (pp. 412–13). I raised, on slim evidence, the possibility of another case of a Northman marrying a Frankish woman in the generation before Rollo, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century, II', p. 17.

³¹ Regino, *Chronicon*, ed. by Kurze, s.a. 882, pp. 119–20, giving the story a different twist from the *Annales Fuldenses* (Mainz version), ed. by Kurze, stressing Godafrið's demand for the Carolingian bride, and the role of Charles the Fat.

³² The following all describe Godafrið's death s.a. 885: Regino, *Chronicon*, ed. by Kurze, p. 124; *Annales Vedastini*, ed. by von Simson, p. 57; *Annales Fuldenses* (Mainz version), ed. by Kurze, p. 102; *Annales Fuldenses* (Bavarian version), p. 114; but Regino uniquely mentions Gisela here.

³³ Dudo, pp. 166–69.

³⁴ Charles's marriage can be dated fairly precisely by reference to his dower-charter for his 'dearest' bride, Friderun, in Charles the Simple, *Recueil des actes*, ed. by Lauer, no. 56, p. 122, dated 19 April 907, and cf. too no. 57, p. 124. The key source for Charles's family is Witger, *Genealogia Arnulfi comitis*, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann, MGH *Scriptores*, 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1851), pp. 302–04 (p. 303), on which see E. Freise, 'Die "Genealogia Arnulfi comitis" des Priesters Witger', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 23 (1989), 203–43, with genealogical chart at p. 243.

as three or four. Just as Dudo was inspired by the Christian-Frankish originating moment of Archbishop Remigius of Reims's baptism of Clovis, so he was inspired by Virgil's account of Aeneas's marriage to the daughter of King Latinus, Lavinia, as the founding moment of Rome, uniting Trojans and Latins.³⁵ Dudo also invented an 'Archbishop Franco' to underscore the Frankish significance of the event, which he also, exceptionally, dated: to 912.³⁶ Earlier in his story of Rollo, Dudo had already given Rollo a wife: after attacking Bayeux, 'Rollo was delighted to carry off with him a girl called Popa who was beautiful to look at, and born of a proud lineage, being the daughter of the mighty prince Berengar; and he took her in marriage and begot a son by her, called William.'³⁷ Dudo associated this event with a victory of Rollo and his Northmen at Bayeux, and some modern historians have associated this, without further encouragement, to the well-documented Norman attack on a quite different place, Saint-Lô.³⁸ None of this can be said to support Dudo. It may be that Rollo had a long career in Neustria in the decades before c. 911; but the contemporary (and near-contemporary) sources do not mention him in their accounts of those decades.³⁹ Heroic efforts have been made to identify Popa's father 'Berengar' with one or another of the great Carolingian imperial-aristocratic families, or, alternatively, to connect her, on the basis of the eleventh-century *Annals of Jumièges*, with the family of the later counts of Senlis,

³⁵ Dudo, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 46, with n. 195 at p. 199, referring to Aeneid VII. For 'Archbishop Franco', see Guillot, 'La Conversion des Normands', pp. 198–208.

³⁶ Dudo, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 50 with n. 210 at p. 196.

³⁷ Dudo, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 38; Dudo, p. 157: 'quandam Popam virginem, specie decorum, superbo sanguine concretam, praevalentis principis Berengarii filiam, secum laetus adduxit eamque sibi connubio ascivit'.

³⁸ Dudo, p. 157; Dudo, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, p. 38 and n. 173 at p. 192, makes a rare slip in claiming the contemporary evidence of the *Annales Vedastini*, ed. by von Simson, s.a. 886, p. 62, for the attack on Bayeux, when the reference there is to Beauvais. For the attack on Saint-Lô, see *Annales Vedastini*, ed. by von Simson, s.a. 890, p. 68; Regino, *Chronicon*, ed. by Kurze, s.a. 890, p. 135; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 'A', s.a. 890, in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. III: *MS A*, ed. by Janet Bately (Cambridge: Brewer, 1986), p. 54: 'for se here of Sigene to Sant Laudan, þæt is betueoh Brettum 7 Francum, 7 Brettas him wiþ fuhton 7 hæfdon sigē' (The army of the Seine came to Saint-Lô, which is between Bretons and Franks, and the Bretons fought with them and had the victory). The contemporary Anglo-Saxon chronicler's statement must carry some weight, as must Abbo of Saint-Germain's positive assessment of Charles the Fat's efforts in 886: MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 55–64.

³⁹ Contrast other Scandinavian chiefs: Coupland, *Carolingian Coinage*, chapter XII; Janet L. Nelson, 'Hæsten (fl. 882–893)', *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49262>>.

although no Berengar remotely qualifying as a 'mighty prince' is to be found in later ninth-century Neustria, while the Jumièges author certainly relied on Dudo for other information and was a blatant reconstructor of genealogies.⁴⁰ I am afraid nothing can rescue these arguments from the realm of speculative hypotheses, attractive or not according to taste. It is high time that historians stopped citing Dudo, with however many qualifications, as supplying any evidence at all for Rollo's wives or mistresses.⁴¹ From the point of view of Frankish marriage-brokers in the decades around 900, the one known precedent of a Scandinavian marriage, that of Gisela and Godafrid, was not encouraging. Flodoard and the *Planctus* for Rollo's son William Longsword say that William's mother was a Christian.⁴² Beyond that, 'history' becomes back-projection. Later Norman sources say that William Longsword's wife was called Sprota, which might more probably be a Frankish or Scandinavian name than a Breton one.⁴³ Scandinavian-Frankish (or Breton) intermarriage doubtless occurred in the tenth century, but the context was a process of acculturation in which Northmen were fast becoming Normans.

The Archaeological Evidence for Rouen

Since 1982, the then chance finds of material culture from early Normandy have been increased by the work of archaeologists. It must be acknowledged, however,

⁴⁰ See especially Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Poppa "de Bayeux" et sa famille', in *Onomastique*, ed. by Keats-Rohan and Settiani, pp. 140–53; Donald C. Jackman, 'Cousins of the German Carolingians', in *Onomastique*, ed. by Keats-Rohan and Settiani, pp. 116–39; Guillotel, 'Une autre marche', pp. 7–13; Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 131–32. The name 'Popa/Poppa' has perhaps evoked the male name Poppo in some historians' minds (though to my knowledge there is no recorded feminine form of Poppo in Frankish sources).

⁴¹ Though Dudo has both Popa and Gisela as Rollo's (?successive) partners in marriage, Christiansen (or his indexer) delicately differentiates between Gisela 'wife of Rollo', and Popa, who rates no such title: Dudo, Index, s.v. *Pace Dudo*, *History of the Normans*, trans. by Christiansen, n. 173 at p. 192, it was not Rollo but his son William who begot a son by a Breton mistress, according to Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 943. For once, Bauduin, 'Chefs normands et élites franques', in *Les Fondations Scandinaves*, ed. by Bauduin, pp. 181–94 (pp. 188–89), is too credulous, or perhaps inclined to fence-sitting, on the subject of Rollo's marriage with Popa.

⁴² For the *Planctus*, see the judicious discussion of Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 132.

⁴³ *GND*, Book iii, c. 2, pp. 78–79, p. 64 with n. 5; see also Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, *The Normans in Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 47, n. 77, and 182 (though here, p. 4, Sprota is called 'William Longsword's mother').

that the haul remains meagre, especially so by comparison with discoveries made in the British Isles.⁴⁴ Already a leading figure as early as 1982, Jacques Le Maho has since become the doyen of his early Norman field. Among his most recent contributions, a substantial paper in English synthesizes material from literary and documentary texts along with hagiographical works and evidence from place-name, topographical, and linguistic studies, along with, of course, his own archaeological data.⁴⁵ Yet, while material finds can be dated more or less accurately to the period in question, place-names and topographic details are very seldom closely datable at all, and hence, as Elisabeth Zadora-Rio has warned in incisive and timely fashion, cannot be correlated in any straightforward way with archaeological layers.⁴⁶ Further, such toponymic evidence as exists has frequently been recorded very much later than the decades around 900. Le Maho weaves together far-reaching inferences from these varied sources as well as from the more precisely datable documentary evidence that has traditionally been historians' staple fare. Le Maho can be compared with Richard Hodges, in that the work of both aspires to produce exhilarating interdisciplinary effects.⁴⁷ But when dumb spade meets 'speaking' text, the historians' tribe inclines to caution.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Anne Nissen Jaubert, 'Implantations scandinaves et traces matérielles en Normandie', in *Les Fondations Scandinaves*, ed. by Bauduin, pp. 209–23, stresses the paucity of genuine finds and notes a tendency to label 'Norman' or 'viking' whatever early medieval weapons turn up in areas known from written sources to have been raided by Northmen.

⁴⁵ Jacques Le Maho, 'The Fate of the Ports of the Lower Seine Valley at the End of the Ninth Century', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650–850*, ed. by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather, 2003), pp. 234–48; Jacques Le Maho, 'Rouen à l'époque des Incursions Vikings (841–911)', *Bulletin de la Commission des Antiquités de la Seine Maritime*, 43 (1995), 143–202; and cf. Jacques Le Maho, 'Un exode de reliques dans les pays de la basse Seine à la fin du IX^e siècle', *Bulletin de la Commission des Antiquités de la Seine Maritime*, 46 (1999), 136–88. For briefer accounts of the archaeological campaigns of 1985 to 1993, see below, with note 49.

⁴⁶ Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, 'Archéologie et toponymie: le divorce', *Les Petits Cahiers d'Anatole*, 8 (2001), 1–17, at <<http://www.univ-tours.fr/lat>>.

⁴⁷ Cf. among Hodges's recent work relevant to the present enquiry, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* (London: Duckworth, 2000).

⁴⁸ I echo the words of Philip Grierson without quite sharing his monitory intent: 'Commerce in the Dark Ages', *TRHS*, 5th series, 9 (1959), 123–40 (p. 129). See further Janet L. Nelson, 'The Settings of the Gift in the Reign of Charlemagne', in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 116–48.

The strictly archaeological evidence is in fact quite limited. It consists of signs of extensive burning in and around Rouen in the third quarter of the ninth century, followed, from c. 880 through to the early tenth century, by the first stone houses rebuilt from spolia within the late antique citadel (*castrum*) and the re-designing there of the street plan in front of the cathedral.⁴⁹ Le Maho was at first inclined to attribute the changed street-plan to the Vikings, but later credited King Odo (888–98) with having conceived and directed this ‘planned reoccupation of the city of Rouen’. Le Maho believed that Rouen had been in effect an abandoned site from the mid-870s, but this cannot be proved. Further, Le Maho’s claims that Odo was in control of the place from 889 and that Rouen’s reoccupation was directed by the King rest on fragile textual support and tend to assume a link between town planning and royal authority. Yet Vikings were clearly responsible for urban foundations and planning in Ireland, England, and elsewhere. It is significant that younger scholars are unpersuaded by Le Maho. Arguing by analogy with Viking implantation elsewhere, for instance London and York, Anne Nissen Jaubert suggests collaboration between Vikings, locals, and other immigrants, while Pierre Bauduin thinks the chronology of Norman origins, like the Normans’ conversion, is better conceived of in terms of longer-term process than short-term agency.⁵⁰ On this hypothesis, not only did Northmen and Franks coexist in the lower Seine valley in the ninth century but there was Scandinavian ‘installation’ and ‘a kind of *modus vivendi*’ there in the decades before 911. Weighing the evidence for ecclesiastical strategies of relocation which, on an older model of ‘Viking terror’ would have placed them, improbably, in the eye of the storm, Bauduin argues that early Scandinavian settlement ‘ought not necessarily to be thought to signify a rise in insecurity for the region’.⁵¹

The evidence for contact and communication considered above pleads strongly in Bauduin’s favour. The archaeological evidence cannot be simply superimposed

⁴⁹ Le Maho, ‘Le Groupe épiscopal de Rouen du IV^e au X^e siècle’, in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen*, ed. by Jenny Stratford (London: British Archaeological Association, 1993), pp. 20–30; Le Maho, ‘Les Fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen de 1985 à 1993: esquisse d’un premier bilan’, *Archéologie Médiévale*, 24 (1994), 1–49; and, drawing heavily on Le Maho, Bernard Gauthiez, ‘La Réoccupation planifiée de la cité de Rouen au haut Moyen Âge’, in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen*, ed. by Stratford, pp. 12–19.

⁵⁰ Jaubert, ‘Implantations Scandinaves’; Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, pp. 110–12.

⁵¹ See previous note. See further the contributions to *Les Fondations Scandinaves en Occident*, a scintillating collection of papers, with introduction (by Bauduin) to match, comparing in interdisciplinary quality and impact with *Cultures in Contact*, ed. by Hadley and Richards.

on an old historical interpretative template, but requires a new and more flexible (because of intra- as well as inter-regional variation) way of thinking. Exactly the same is true in the reverse direction: historians have to revise their response to the 'speaking' texts in light of archaeological data, not just in Neustria/Normandy but, crucially, by comparing the evidence from other places where Vikings settled. These are findings that I am sure will not surprise David Bates, whose own work anticipated them and who has been closely involved in much of the interdisciplinary scholarship that has brought them forth. Their availability, now, is itself a tribute not least to David's work. The leavening power of *Normandy Before 1066* helps all of us who knead away, still, at Norman origins.

THE MEETINGS OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, 1066–1204

John Gillingham

Between 1066 and 1154 the kings of France and of England are known to have met each other on five occasions: in 1079, 1109, 1113, 1120, and 1137. In this period Anglo-French summits were rare events. There then followed a dramatic shift of tempo. In the first fifty years of Angevin rule, the kings met each other on more than sixty occasions. David Bates has rightly emphasized the continuities in the nature of the political game in northern France from the eleventh century until the 1190s when the kings of England came up against a ruthless opponent, Philip Augustus, and a transformed Capetian monarchy.¹ But in one way at least the 1150s witnessed a significant change in the rules of the game. Not, it should be said, in a new willingness of the King of England to do homage to the King of France.² What was new and remarkable was the readiness of the two kings to meet often.

This turned out to be a transient phenomenon. After the loss of Normandy fifty years passed before another King of England met a King of France. Then between 1254 and 1264 there was a remarkable spate of meetings between Henry III and Louis IX, but after 1264 Anglo-French summits once again became rare events

For helpful advice I am indebted to Nicholas Vincent and James Bickford Smith.

¹ David Bates, 'The Rise and Fall of Normandy c. 911–1204', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Bates and Anne Curry (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 19–35 (pp. 24, 33–35).

² Since Henry II did not, as was generally believed, do homage to Louis VII in 1156, nor in 1169: John Gillingham, 'Doing Homage to the King of France', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 63–84.

— eight in the seventy-five years before Edward III claimed the crown, and only six in the 180 years before the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520. In this respect the Angevin period, when summitry was the height of political fashion, was extraordinary.³ Angevin met Capetian so often as to flout a widespread convention, found in the Muslim world as well as the Christian: that kings did not meet unless and until an agreement had already been reached.⁴

The subject of medieval summits was tackled in two books written in the 1980s: one by Ingrid Voss which focused on meetings between Frankish then German and French rulers from 840 to 1299, and one by Werner Kolb, which looked at the subject over a thousand years. Both provide valuable comparative perspectives, but obviously neither had room to do more than touch on Anglo-French summits.⁵ Much has been written about the political and diplomatic relations between the kings of England and France in this period.⁶ Louis Halphen, Jean-François Lemarignier, Christopher Holdsworth, and J. E. M. Benham have all looked at some aspects of some of their meetings.⁷ But there has as yet been no

³ That Anglo-French diplomatic practice in the later twelfth century was 'extraordinary' was emphasized by Walter Heinemeyer, 'Studien zur Diplomatie mittelalterlicher Verträge vornehmlich des 13. Jhs.', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 14 (1936), 321–413 (pp. 348, 353, 356). 'Before the accession of Henry II contacts between the English and French kings were sparse [...]. Things changed considerably, however, during the reign of Henry II': Klaus van Eickels, 'Homagium and Amicitia: Rituals of Peace and their Significance in the Anglo-French Negotiations of the Twelfth Century', *Francia*, 24 (1997), 133–40 (pp. 134–35). Cf. Jean Dunbabin, 'Henry II and Louis VII', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. by Harper-Bill and Vincent, pp. 47–62 (p. 49).

⁴ Ten days after arriving at the siege of Acre, Richard sent an envoy to Saladin. 'The gist of the message was that the king of England sought a meeting with the sultan. He [Saladin] answered immediately without thought or hesitation, "Kings do not meet unless an agreement has already been reached"': Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, trans. by D. S. Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 153. Cf. below at note 22.

⁵ Ingrid Voss, *Herrschartreffen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987); Werner Kolb, *Herrscherbegegnungen im Mittelalter* (Bern: Lang, 1988). Both Voss and Kolb provide useful guides to the earlier literature.

⁶ Notably by Dieter Berg, *England und der Kontinent: Studien zur auswärtigen Politik der angelnormannischen Könige in 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Bochum: Dieter Winkler, 1987) and Klaus van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt: Die englische-französischen Beziehungen und ihre Wahrnehmung an der Wende vom Hoch- zum Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002). I have not managed to find Dominique de Villepin, *Histoire de la diplomatie française* (Paris: Perrin, 2003).

⁷ Louis Halphen, 'Les Entrevues des rois Louis VII et Henri II durant l'exil de Thomas Becket en France', in Halphen, *A travers l'histoire du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France,

focused study such as that by David Carpenter on the meetings of Louis IX and Henry III.⁸ Indeed the master-historian of medieval English diplomatic practice, Pierre Chaplais, chiefly interested in the work of envoys constantly going to and fro between the courts and working primarily on documents from later centuries when royal meetings were indeed occasional, managed, no doubt inadvertently, to give the misleading impression that there was nothing remarkable about Anglo-French practice in the later twelfth century.⁹

It is impossible to say precisely how often these kings met. In part it is a matter of definition. Suger's account of the meeting at Les Planches-de-Neaufles in 1109 makes it plain that both Louis VI and Henry I stayed on their own side of a rickety bridge over the River Epte; they did not get close enough to kiss or shake hands. Nonetheless Suger referred to it as a *colloquium*, and it has always been referred to as a meeting.¹⁰ It would only lead to confusion if I chose not to count it as one. In this paper, therefore, a summit meeting occurred when, by arrangement, the two kings got close enough to each other to be within shouting distance. There appear to have been 'distant' meetings of this kind near Gisors in June 1167, near La Ferté-

1950), pp. 256–65 (first published in 1913); Jean-François Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales* (Lille: Bibliothèque universitaire, 1945), pp. 90–113. Christopher Holdsworth, 'Peace-making in the Twelfth Century', *ANS*, 19 (1996), 1–17; J. E. M. Benham, 'Anglo-French Peace Conferences in the Twelfth Century', *ANS*, 27 (2004), 52–67.

⁸ David Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings Henry III and Louis IX', *Thirteenth Century England*, 10 (2005), 1–30. Cf. Elisabeth Lalou, 'Les Négociations diplomatiques avec l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philip le Bel', in *La France anglaise au Moyen Âge, Actes du III^e Congrès des Sociétés Savantes* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1988), pp. 325–55.

⁹ 'The broad pattern of Henry II's foreign relations certainly shows no idiosyncratic features. [...] Since it was not practicable for heads of state [...] to meet face to face every time they wished to communicate with one another, messages had to be exchanged instead.' In writing that 'In the twelfth century, as in the earlier period, it was unusual for two rulers to meet face to face unless their respective dominions had a common frontier', Chaplais in effect made space for a discussion of meetings between the kings of France and England, but none came. He merely noted that 'even when a treaty was concluded at a meeting between the two contracting rulers, preliminary discussions had to be held [...] this could only be done by means of envoys'. Pierre Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon, 2003), pp. 45, 53, 55. Similarly summit meetings are not discussed in George P. Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

¹⁰ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. by Henri Waquet (Paris: Champion, 1929), pp. 104–11. For a recent example of the practice of historians, see Judith A. Green, *Henry I, King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 120. *Colloquium* is the usual Latin term, more occasionally *collocutio*, and *parlement* the usual vernacular word.

Bernard in July 1168, and at Châteauroux in 1187.¹¹ They represent the medieval equivalent of those modern occasions when the parties never quite meet because they occupy separate rooms in the same house. But the sources are not always good enough for us to be sure that they got even that close. Louis Halphen, for example, counted ten royal meetings during the years of Becket's exile in France, including a meeting on 7 April 1168 on the border between Pacy and Mantes.¹² According to Robert of Torigny, Henry went there in order to speak to Louis, but a letter written by John of Salisbury makes it clear that he talked with 'the great men of France', not with the King. What it leaves unclear is whether or not Louis was close enough for the 'great men' to be able to report back to him within a few minutes of talking to Henry. Halphen presumably thought he was, whereas I am inclined to think not.¹³ Hence, rightly or wrongly, I have not included this in my count of sixty-three Anglo-French summits after 1154. I have also not included meetings that occurred before the individuals concerned became the rulers of France or England, though obviously such occasions contributed to the political atmosphere.¹⁴

How many meetings had there been before 1155? The fact that we know about the meeting between William I and Philip I at Gerberoy in 1079 only because William signed a French royal charter gives pause.¹⁵ The sources are so thin for the first fifty years after 1066 that it is entirely possible that other meetings might have gone completely unrecorded. There are no extant texts of Anglo-French treaties

¹¹ On the June 1167 meeting, see *The 'Draco Normannicus' of Etienne de Rouen*, in Howlett, *CRSHR*, II, 675–80; on the April 1168 meeting, see *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. by W. J. Millor, Harold E. Butler, and Christopher N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955–79), II, no. 279, pp. 602–07; on the meeting between the armies at Châteauroux in 1187, see Gervase, I, 370–73.

¹² Halphen, 'Les Entrevues', p. 257.

¹³ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', in Howlett, *CRSHR*, IV, 236; *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Millor, Butler, and Brooke, II, no. 272, p. 566. I am inclined to think that Louis kept his distance because when the great men reported to him, he agreed to meet Henry on 12 May (Sunday after Ascension) rather than at once — hardly a compelling argument.

¹⁴ Not the visit of Louis to Henry I's court in 1100 (*OV*, VI, 50–52), nor the meetings between Duke Henry and Louis VII in 1151 and 1154; nor the numerous meetings of the kings of France with Henry II's sons. Both Voss, *Herrschartreffen*, p. 84, and Kolb, in the Appendix to his *Herrscherbegegnungen*, very considerably underestimate the number of Henry II's meetings with French kings.

¹⁵ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 28. Similarly we only know of Duke Richard III's meeting with Robert II at Senlis in 1027 thanks to charter evidence.

earlier than 1160.¹⁶ No letters sent to kings of France by any of the kings from William I to Stephen survive. In my count of meetings I have made some allowance for this by including probable meetings in 1077 and 1091 and a possible meeting in 1094 (or 1096), which would bring the total up to eight.¹⁷ And in order not to exaggerate the contrast between the first and second halves of the twelfth century, I count as a single meeting the countless meetings between Richard and Philip during the time they spent on crusade together.¹⁸ We are still left with a massive difference between the average of more than one a year after 1154 and the occasional meetings before Henry II's accession; even between 1109 and 1137, when both Orderic and Suger were active, recorded meetings average only one every seven years.¹⁹ Eight meetings in the eighty-eight years between 1066 and 1154; very nearly eight times as many in the fifty years between 1155 and 1204.

At least one contemporary noticed and disliked the change of gear. In Wace's view so many meetings created opportunities for the treacherous French.

Let Henry put a stop to the comings and goings of the French.
Let him speak to them through messengers and keep them at a distance.
They are determined to deceive him.²⁰

¹⁶ Gervase introduced his copy of the text of the treaty of 1177 by saying that previously the two kings had often been at odds and had often come to terms but now they had decided to put their agreement into writing as a pledge of their love, and confirm it with their seals: Gervase, I, 271–74. Of course this practice opened the door to forgery, as when Philip on his return from crusade produced a faked chirograph of the treaty of Messina: Cuttino, *English Medieval Diplomacy*, p. 46.

¹⁷ According to the E chronicle's entry for 1077, 'in this year the king of the French and William, king of England, were reconciled but it held only a little while': *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. and ed. by Michael Swanton (London: J. M. Dent, 1996), p. 213. According to Robert of Torigny, presumably referring to the peace of 1091, Robert Curthose and Rufus made peace at Caen thanks to the mediation of King Philip: *GND*, II, 204–06. For a possible meeting in 1094 or 1096, see Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Methuen, 1983), pp. 332, 364.

¹⁸ According to Ambroise, on the road from Vézelay to Lyon (2–13 July 1190) 'they honoured each other greatly in every place they came to': *The History of the Holy War*, ed. and trans. by Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), II, 35. They also met in Genoa 13–14 August and were both in Messina from 24 September 1190 to 30 March 1191 and at Acre from 8 June to 31 July 1191.

¹⁹ Marjorie Chibnall, 'Anglo-French Relations in the Work of Orderic Vitalis', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to G. P. Cuttino*, ed. by J. S. Hamilton and Patricia J. Bradley (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 5–19; Lindy Grant, 'Suger and the Anglo-Norman World', *ANS*, 19 (1996), 51–68.

²⁰ 'Laist Henri dez Franceiz le venir et l'aler | par messages parrouit, de loing les face ester; | mout li vont a engin': Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Glyn S. Burgess (Saint Helier: Société Jersiaise,

As this implies, at many meetings real negotiations continued. These kings did not meet only after an agreement had already been hammered out, whether by envoys or at meetings of ministers. Inevitably this meant that, however much had been arranged in advance, negotiations between the kings sometimes (I counted no less than eighteen times) broke down — the chopping down of the ‘beautiful elm’ near Gisors on Philip’s orders in 1188 being only the most famous of such occasions.²¹ In one section of his *Memoirs*, Commynes recounted a number of cases in support of his view that ‘great princes should never see each other if they wish to remain friends’.²² But these kings did. Until Philip invaded Normandy in 1202 the practice of frequent meetings continued.

What makes the number of Anglo-French summits so remarkable is the fact that during a roughly equivalent period (1154–97: the reigns of Barbarossa and Henry VI), the kings of France met the kings of Germany only three times: in 1171, 1187, and 1191.²³ Indeed the kings of France and Germany met each other only thirteen times in the three hundred years between 1000 and 1300.²⁴ Of course, the King of England, unlike the German king, was also a French prince. But he was a French prince between 1066 and 1154 when meetings were rare, as well as after 1154. Of course, the fact that after 1154 this prince was Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Anjou as well as Duke of Normandy made a difference.²⁵ Yet even after 1154 few meetings were provoked by distinctly southern territorial disputes

2002), lines 89–91. Supporters of Louis VII undoubtedly felt that it was their king who was being deceived. The author of the *Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici* (composed in the early 1170s) referred to Henry II’s ‘accustomed trickery in the manner of a deceitful fox’: *Historia Ludovici VII*, ed. by A. Molinier (Paris: Picard, 1887), p. 161.

²¹ Howden, *Gesta*, II, 47. The most detailed narrative based on the memories of a participant is in *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Anthony J. Holden and David Crouch, trans. by Stewart Gregory, 3 vols, Anglo-Norman Text Society, Occasional Publication Series, 4–6 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002–07), I, 374–94.

²² It was better if they operated through the mediation of ‘wise and loyal servants’: Philippe de Commynes, *Memoirs: The Reign of Louis XI* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), pp. 141–45.

²³ And only four times if we include the reign of Frederick II. Ganshof’s reference to the ‘multiples rencontres’ of both the German and French sovereigns and the English and French ones is misleading: François L. Ganshof, *Le Moyen Âge*, vol. I of the *Histoire des Relations Internationales*, ed. by Pierre Renouvin (Paris: Hachette, 1953), p. 120.

²⁴ Voss, *Herrschartreffen*, p. 199.

²⁵ ‘The extension of the continental possessions and the intensification of French royal government multiplied the possible sources of conflict, as well as the occasions for negotiations and personal meetings’: Van Eickels, ‘*Homagium*’, p. 135.

— just the three meetings in 1159 triggered by the business of Toulouse and one in 1177 to deal with a dispute over the Auvergne. After 1154, just as before, the principal territorial dispute was over Gisors and the other castles of the Norman Vexin, not surprising given their strategic situation.²⁶

Of great importance in making the change of gear was the betrothal in 1158 of Henry II's eldest son Henry to Louis VII's daughter Margaret. This, confirmed shockingly soon by their wedding in 1160, not only brought the two dynasties into a very close familial relationship but also linked that relationship, as the marriage of Stephen's son Eustace to Louis's sister Constance had not, to control of the Norman Vexin.²⁷ The betrothal of Richard to Louis's daughter Alice in 1169 and the marriage of Philip's son Louis to John's niece, Blanche of Castile, in 1200, ensured that these meetings of kings retained the character of family conferences to a degree not seen since the many meetings of Carolingian kings in the ninth century. Other issues that help to explain the continuance of the trend are the Becket dispute (between 1165 and 1170), the shared anxiety about Outremer from 1166 onwards, and Henry II's role as a mediator in the factional struggles around the young Philip II (1180–85).²⁸ At a more general level it may be that the culture of tournament fields and schools which their entourages shared helped them to feel that when they met each other they were still on familiar terrain.

A major problem in assessing Anglo-French conferences is the fact that the earliest meeting between kings of France and England chronicled by both sides is the Young King's presence at the coronation of Philip II at Reims in 1179.²⁹ If we consider only meetings between kings who ruled then the earliest is the 1187 confrontation at Châteauroux, commented on by Rigord of Saint-Denis as well as by the king's clerk Roger of Howden, the dean of Saint Paul's, Ralph of Diss, and

²⁶ 'Gisors began its shuttle-cock career from Norman to French hands and back again before 1066': Bates, 'Rise and Fall of Normandy', p. 33. For a convenient summary of the dispute from the 1090s onwards, see Lionel Landon, *The Itinerary of King Richard I*, Pipe Roll Society, n.s. 13 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1935), Appendix H, pp. 219–34. 'The Norman frontier lies at the heart of the rise, greatness and fall of the Angevin empire': Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 2.

²⁷ Lindsay Diggelman, 'Marriage as Tactical Response: Henry II and the Royal Wedding of 1160', *EHR*, 119 (2004), 954–64.

²⁸ According to Gervase of Canterbury, in 1182 Henry was greeted by the continentals with honour and joy, and praised as a peace-maker: Gervase, I, 300.

²⁹ Duke Henry's visit to Paris in 1151 (i.e. before he became King of England) was also chronicled by both sides, by Robert of Torigny and the author of the *Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici*.

Gervase of Canterbury.³⁰ Before 1187 all but one were recorded by Norman and English chroniclers only: principally by Robert of Torigny (until 1178) and Roger of Howden (from 1170).³¹ The one exception is the 1109 conference described by Suger and that, curiously, went unmentioned by any Anglo-Norman author. Suger's was in all probability an eyewitness account, but although he may well have attended subsequent meetings, he chose not to mention any.³² To some extent, at least for the meetings at which Becket was on the agenda, the one-sidedness is mitigated by the pro-Capetian stance adopted in letters written by his supporters, especially John of Salisbury. Since all ritual and ceremonial occasions were likely to be interpreted differently by different participants, spectators, and other contemporaries as well as by later historians, it is unsurprising that Capetian and Angevin chronicles occasionally give contradictory versions of meetings. The Young King's presence at Philip's coronation, for example, was recorded by Rigord in terms which allowed readers to think it was Henry II who had held the crown 'ex debita subiectione humiliter'.³³

Following the useful practice of Voss and Kolb, I distinguish two kinds of meeting: visits made by one ruler into the territory of another, and meetings at border sites. This distinction is not always straightforward. I have counted, for example, as border conferences two occasions when Henry II travelled through Capetian

³⁰ Yet Rigord was also responsible for the most remarkable silence of all — his decision not to mention Louis VII's pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1179. Presumably at Saint-Denis this was regarded as an insult to their church and their saint and contributed to Louis being buried in Barbeau rather than with his predecessors in Saint-Denis. When William the Breton revised Rigord's *Gesta Philippi* he added the pilgrimage, but not the meeting with Henry II.

³¹ The fact that were it not for the Bec continuator, author of a fragment running from December 1157 to December 1159 (published in Howlett, *CRSHR*, IV, 317–27), we would not know of the three meetings about Toulouse in 1159 is a reminder of the extent to which, up until 1170, we are the mercy of what Robert of Torigny chose to include and exclude.

³² For Suger's probable involvement in the negotiations of 1113 and 1120 and for silence as his usual response to political embarrassment, see Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), pp. 97, 102–03.

³³ 'astante Henrico rege Anglie et ex una parte coronam super caput regis Francie ex debita subiectione humiliter portante': Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Élisabeth Carpentier and others (Paris: CNRS, 2006), cap. 3, p. 126. In this Rigord was followed by later French historians including the *Grandes Chroniques*: 'li rois Hennis d'Angleterre, qui à cele journée li tint d'une part la corone seur son chief moult devotement, par la raison de son homage et de droite subiection'. Dean Ralph was agitated by the implications of such a 'misunderstanding': *Radulphi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera historica*, ed. by William Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 68 (London: Longman, 1876), I, 438–39.

territory in order to mediate between King Philip and Count Philip of Flanders — the border in these cases being that between Flanders and the Capetian domain. In 1182 they met at La Grange Saint Arnoult between Senlis and Crépy.³⁴ In 1184 they met between Compiègne and Choisy.³⁵ Whether Richard's trip through the fringes of Capetian territory in order to join Philip at Vézelay at the start of their crusade should count as a visit is debatable. The list of definite visits is short — eight (including no less than three in 1169).³⁶ But even that small number stands in contrast to the practice of French and German kings who from 965 until the fourteenth century, except when on crusade, never travelled into each other's territory.³⁷

Meetings at the Border

Forty-nine out of the sixty-three meetings after 1154 (and fifty-three out of a putative total of seventy-one meetings for the whole period) can confidently be classified as meetings at the frontier between the lands of the two kings.³⁸ This preponderance, together with the fact that visits were rare and hence likely to be remarked upon, makes it highly probable that the seven meetings (1077?, 1137, two in 1160, 1172, May 1185, August 1195) for which we have no information about location also took place on that border, in total then approximately five out of every six meetings (fifty-four after 1154 and sixty in the whole period).³⁹ In all

³⁴ Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. by Laura Napran (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), cap. 103, pp. 82–83; Howden, *Gesta*, I, 285–86; the text of Henry II's letter reporting the terms of the agreement reached is in *De principis instructione*, Distinctio II, cap. 16, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by John S. Brewer and others, 8 vols, Rolls Series, 21 (London: various publishers, 1861–91), VIII, 189–90. See also Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Warenne View of the Past, 1066–1203', *ANS*, 26 (2003), 103–21 (pp. 118–21).

³⁵ Howden, *Gesta*, I, 312. They must have met close to the spot at which two trains halted in November 1198. From there Henry travelled to England through Flemish territory, escorted by Count Philip.

³⁶ It is possible that Philip I as mediator visited Normandy in 1091 and 1094/96.

³⁷ Voss, *Herrschertrreffen*, pp. 36, 85.

³⁸ I exclude from these numbers, as not being on the border between Angevin and Capetian, the meeting near Toulouse in 1159 when Louis came to the aid of his brother-in law, Raymond of Toulouse, those on the Franco-Flemish border in 1182 and 1184, and the crusade 'meeting' which began at Vézelay in 1190.

³⁹ What we know about the itineraries of Henry II and Richard suggests that all were on the Franco-Norman border.

but fourteen of these cases the border was that between Capetian France and Normandy.⁴⁰ Five or, more probably, six meetings occurred on the border between Maine and the Chartrain (in 1162, probably 1166, 1168, 1169, 1170, May 1189), four on the Loire (in 1159, 1162, 1174, and July 1189), and four in Berry (in 1177, 1187, 1188, and 1195).

Even when considering a matter as apparently neutral as the location of meetings the affiliation of the reporter has to be borne in mind. The usual practice was for each ruler to stay in his own territory and ride out to confer with the other in an open space somewhere between their two bases — an arrangement not dissimilar to those made for tournaments in northern France and in Richard I's ordinance of 1194.⁴¹ In consequence chroniclers often knew the name of 'their' king's base, but not of the actual place of meeting.⁴² Thus it is most unlikely that in 1166 Henry and Louis met at either Angers or Nogent-le-Rotrou (the two sites proposed by scholars for a meeting which Robert of Torigny mentioned without specifying either place or date).⁴³ Halphen and Foreville sited the meeting at Nogent-le-Rotrou on the very reasonable grounds that a well-informed contemporary, Guernes of Pont-Sainte-Maxence, said that the kings held an (otherwise unknown) 'parlement' there.⁴⁴ But it seems more likely that Nogent-le-Rotrou was the base from and to which Louis travelled to confer with Henry.⁴⁵ The alternative proposed by some scholars — Angers at Easter — on the grounds that John of Salisbury complained about the waste of his money and time when he went 'to Angers for the Easter conference of the kings' seems even less likely, especially not at Easter itself.⁴⁶ To

⁴⁰ This, like all frontiers, moved in keeping with the fortunes of war: Power, *Norman Frontier*, pp. 414–17. On the frontier at Vaudreuil in 1195, see Benham, 'Anglo-French Peace Conferences', pp. 60–61.

⁴¹ Voss, *Herrschartreffen*, pp. 83, 144. David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon, 2005), pp. 50–54.

⁴² Voss, *Herrschartreffen*, pp. 72, 82–83, 100, 203.

⁴³ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', iv, 226–27.

⁴⁴ Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, *La Vie de saint Thomas le Martyr*, ed. by E. Walberg (Lund: Gleerup, 1922), p. 134; Halphen, 'Les Entrevues', p. 263; Raymonde Foreville, *L'Église et la royauté en Angleterre sous Henry II Plantagenêt* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1943), p. 169.

⁴⁵ For the Capetian alignment of Rotrou III of Perche in the 1160s, see Kathleen Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship: The County of the Perche, c. 1066–1217* (Woodbridge: Boydell for the Royal Historical Society, 2002), pp. 93–96.

⁴⁶ Robert W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II* (London: Taylor, 1878), p. 93; Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), p. 140. However

celebrate Easter, or any of the other great feasts, at another king's court would have been a sign of client status.⁴⁷ Most likely the two kings met somewhere between Nogent-le-Rotrou and Le Mans, possibly as in 1168 on the banks of the Huisne near La Ferté-Bernard or at Montmirail as in 1169.⁴⁸

The Norman or English allegiance of most of the chroniclers explains why Gisors, the base from which their king/duke rode out, is so often named, when the actual place where, in Roger of Howden's words, 'meetings between the kings of France and dukes of Normandy were customarily held' was 'the beautiful elm between Gisors and Trie'.⁴⁹ In this context it is worth noting that *apud* often means 'near' rather than 'at', hence *apud Gisorcium* is generally better translated as 'near Gisors' rather than 'at Gisors', as I and many others have habitually done.⁵⁰ Both sides preferred to have a secure base at hand. According to Guernes of Pont-Sainte-Maxence, a meeting 'at Tours' was called off by Louis when he was reminded that he had no castle or stronghold nearby.⁵¹ Before 1197 none of the Franco-Norman summits is known to have been held on the banks of the Seine; all eight of the summits that took place between 1197 and 1202 were. This reflected not only Norman losses in the valley of Epte in 1193–94, but also the building of Château-Gaillard. Similarly the fact that Richard stayed on board ship for the meeting between Andeli and Vernon in January 1199 while Philip was on

John did not write that he went to Angers for the conference (as in the English translation) but 'versus Andegavim et paschalibus colloquiis regum': *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Millor, Butler, and Brooke, II, no. 167, pp. 98–99.

⁴⁷ Voss, *Herrschartreffen*, pp. 111–14. According to Ambroise, Philip was persuaded to attend Richard's Christmas feast at Messina in 1190 and to accept gold and silver gifts from him: *History of the Holy War*, ed. and trans. by Ailes and Barber, II, 46. Although Ambroise claimed to have seen the feasting in the hall himself, this is supported only by a dependent source, the *Itinerarium*, and it seems unlikely, especially in view of Roger of Howden's omission of Philip's name from the list of French nobles who, together with 'almost the whole household of the king of France', did dine with Richard that day: Howden, *Gesta*, II, 150. That, however, would have been humiliating enough for Philip, and Rigord and William the Breton wisely say nothing about it.

⁴⁸ On the grounds that after meeting Louis, Henry was to be found at Le Mans, see Gervase, I, 198–99.

⁴⁹ Howden, *Gesta*, II, 47. Cf. *Radulfi de Diceto*, ed. by Stubbs, II, 55. On Gisors as a 'place of meeting', see Benham, 'Anglo-French Peace Conferences', p. 54.

⁵⁰ Voss, *Herrschartreffen*, pp. 69–70. Thus it is likely that meetings such as those in 1159 described by the Bec continuator as 'apud civitatem Turonorum' and 'apud Heldincort' (Howlett, *CRSHR*, IV, 321–22) actually took place at border sites east of Tours and Heudicourt (Eure).

⁵¹ Guernes, *La Vie de saint Thomas*, ed. by Walberg, p. 128.

horseback on the bank was presumably a sign that Richard's fleet of galleys now projected power along the river itself.⁵² More commonly a meadow — as at Runnymede — provided the appropriate open space for a conference. According to Amboise, Henry II and Philip took the cross at the meeting in January 1188 'in the great and lovely meadow' between Gisors and Trie.⁵³

A few meetings took place in the space between armies on the cusp of battle as at Châteauroux in 1187 and Vaudreuil and Issoudun in 1195.⁵⁴ Almost as tense were those meetings arranged as peace conferences in periods of truce.⁵⁵ One of John of Salisbury's letters contains a vivid account of the muddle and mutual distrust which characterized the conference near La Ferté-Bernard in July 1168. The two sides had promised to meet at a crossing-point on the River Huisne. When Henry stayed away for two days, Louis 'crossed the river, sat down, washed his hands and drank, proclaiming before all that he at least had kept his promise, [...] and he sent messengers to Henry summoning him to do satisfaction for his broken faith'. At this point John claimed that Henry and his men, wearing helmets and body armour, attempted to take Louis by surprise, only nightfall preventing an armed clash.⁵⁶ In view of past events both real and imaginary, the carrying of weapons at conferences was inevitably controversial. According to a speech composed by Henry of Huntingdon c. 1140 and put into Duke William's mouth at Hastings, it had long ago been agreed that 'at every conference between the king of France and the duke of Normandy, the duke would be armed with his sword, while the king would not be allowed to carry one, not even a small knife'.⁵⁷ But it

⁵² Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 79–81. On preparations for a river war along the Seine, see John Gillingham, 'Richard I, Galley-Warfare and Portsmouth: The Beginnings of a Royal Navy', *Thirteenth Century England*, 6 (1997), 1–15.

⁵³ *History of the Holy War*, ed. and trans. by Ailes and Barber, II, 31. According to Gervase, the last meeting between Louis, Henry, and Thomas Becket took place in the 'beautiful meadow', once known to locals as Traitors' Meadow, at Fréteval on the border between the Chartrain and Maine: Gervase, I, 220.

⁵⁴ On these meetings, see John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 83–85, 292, 296–97, and van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens*, pp. 330–31, 366–68.

⁵⁵ For the role of ecclesiastics as mediators at such times, see Holdsworth, 'Peace-making'.

⁵⁶ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 237; *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Millor, Butler, and Brooke, II, no. 279, pp. 602–07. For the importance of rivers and crossing points such as Le Gué Saint-Remy on the Avre between Yvry and Nonancourt, see Benham, 'Anglo-French Peace Conferences', pp. 62–65.

⁵⁷ HH, p. 490.

was inevitably hard to separate knights from their swords. According to Gervase of Canterbury, on the first day of a meeting at Bonsmoulins in November 1188 the participants spoke with restraint and peace. On the second, tempers gradually rose; on the third, the knights standing around girded on their swords.⁵⁸ Roger of Howden believed that a two-day conference in September 1173 broke up when Robert, earl of Leicester — one of the rebels of 1173–74 — spoke abusively to King Henry and went to draw his sword, and bystanders had to prevent him from striking the King.⁵⁹

These meetings often took on the character of inter-regnal assemblies.⁶⁰ According to the Continuator of Bec, when Henry and Louis met on 31 August 1158 between Gisors and Neufmarché, they were accompanied by ‘the barons of both provinces and prelates of holy church’. Yet writing about the same occasion, Robert of Torigny — as was his wont — mentioned only the kings.⁶¹ Doubtless he took the presence of others for granted. But it also seems likely that by drawing attention to the number of men of rank present a chronicler was emphasizing the importance of the meeting — as for instance the long list of those French and English magnates present at the Whitsun 1189 conference near La Ferté-Bernard at which Henry refused to accede to Philip’s and Richard’s demands.⁶²

The protocol to be followed at such public assemblies must surely have been arranged in advance and as carefully calibrated as the meetings between Henry II and the exiled Becket.⁶³ Given the emphasis in recent decades upon the centrality of ritual, ceremony, and image in political life, the absence of discussion of the ceremonies that accompanied the meetings of the rulers of France and England would be surprising were it not for the fact that this whole series of meetings has,

⁵⁸ Gervase, I, 435.

⁵⁹ Howden, *Chronica*, II, 54. Stubbs has a note doubting this, on good grounds, but it was evidently the kind of thing thought plausible by the 1190s. Fighting immediately followed this conference: Howden, *Gesta*, I, 59–60. As a king’s clerk, Roger may well have been on the fringe of this and several others of the many meetings he reported.

⁶⁰ On the importance of regnal assemblies, see Timothy Reuter, ‘Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth’, in *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. by Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 193–216. Many of his points also apply to inter-regnal assemblies.

⁶¹ Robert of Torigny, ‘Chronicle’, IV, 196; Howlett, *CRSHR*, IV, 196, 318.

⁶² Howden, *Gesta*, II, 66; Gervase, I, 446.

⁶³ Timothy Reuter, ‘Symbolic Acts in the Becket Dispute’, in *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. by Nelson, pp. 167–90.

apart from those few occasions when homage was done, elicited very little comment. The sources, it should be acknowledged, are not much help. Robert of Torigny's style was laconic and annalistic, rarely saying more than that the kings met and talked, sometimes what they talked about, and occasionally a report of the terms of an agreement reached or not reached. By the time Roger of Howden began writing, early in the 1170s, the kings had already met each other at border conferences so often that the occasions had become routine.⁶⁴ Only the very exceptional elicited comment about the ceremonial or the gestures, as, for example, that remarkable meeting at Chouzy-sur-Loire in 1162 when Louis VII and Henry II met Pope Alexander III, and both walked beside his horse holding the bridle, one on the right and one on the left.⁶⁵ It looks as though the ceremony was meant to symbolize the equal status of the two kings, though notions of right and left (whose right and left?) might have created helpful room for flexible readings of the language of the symbolic.⁶⁶

There is no doubt that the kings of France claimed superior status.⁶⁷ There is equally no doubt that all the kings of England from William I to John recognized that Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine were in the kingdom of France and the King of France was their lord.⁶⁸ When Henry II exchanged courtesies with Louis VII, he liked ostentatiously to place himself in the junior position.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ By contrast Roger was interested in a — presumably carefully staged — meeting of kings in Sicily in March 1191. Tancred of Sicily rode almost five miles out of Catania to greet Richard; both kings dismounted, ran into each other's arms, embraced, and kissed. Then they remounted and entered Catania where clergy and people came out to meet them with hymns and songs: Howden, *Gesta*, II, 158–59.

⁶⁵ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 215–16. Contrast Henry I's and Louis VI's separate meetings with Pope Innocent II in 1131: Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 260, and *OV*, VI, 420.

⁶⁶ Reuter, 'Symbolic Acts', pp. 167–72.

⁶⁷ Suger believed that Henry I had not liked this, comparing the relationship between him and Louis VI to Lucan's description of that between Caesar (who could bear no one over him) and Pompey (who could bear no equal): Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, pp. 182–84. For the whole subject of equality in subordination, see van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens*, chap. 5.

⁶⁸ Though some writers, such as the author of the *Brevis relatio* and Stephen of Rouen, were inclined to minimize the consequences of this, e.g. *The 'Draco Normannicus' of Etienne de Rouen*, II, 678 (Bk II, c. 9, lines 489–508).

⁶⁹ See below p. 34 and Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by Montague R. James, rev. by Christopher N. L. Brooke and Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 492–94. For some good examples of Henry's epistolary style when addressing Louis, see Martin Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenêt 1154–1224* (Paris: Perrin, 2003), p. 141. On

Nonetheless — and despite the fact that all but one of the meetings considered here took place within the kingdom of France — the evidence indicates that when the two kings met, they almost always met as equals, as kings, not as King of France and count or duke of a French province.⁷⁰ The climax of the meeting at Montmirail at Epiphany 1169 was unambiguous. Henry II and Louis VII shook hands and embraced in a gesture of equality.⁷¹ Only at those rare meetings when one king did homage to the other was the superior status of the King of France publicly signalled in a fashion that the King of England found uncomfortable. Not until 1183 did King Henry II, who as duke had cheerfully done homage in 1151, repeat the action, and then only with great reluctance in order to legitimize his hold on the Vexin.⁷² King John, who had rushed to do homage in 1193, refused to repeat the action in 1199; only the rapidly deteriorating political situation made him change his mind in 1200. Apart from these two occasions — or possibly three, if Richard as king ever repeated the homage he had done before his father's death — the kings of France and England met on an equal footing.⁷³ At least as represented in the *History of William Marshal*, it was not just the king of England who addressed the other as *sire* (my lord).⁷⁴ It is plausible that, as generally believed, equality of status

Henry's reputation as a 'treasure-house of courtesy', see John Gillingham, 'The Cultivation of History, Legend and Courtesy at the Court of Henry II', in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II*, ed. by Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York: Palgrave, 2006), pp. 25–52 (pp. 39–40).

⁷⁰ For a similar mix of mutual courtesies between Louis IX and Henry III and the equality of kings, see Carpenter, 'The Meetings', pp. 9–11, 13, 28.

⁷¹ *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Millor, Butler, and Brooke, II, 636–37.

⁷² Although the earliest explicit evidence for a man going down on his knees when doing homage dates from the thirteenth century, if such a posture were indeed required it would help to explain both Henry's reluctance in 1183 and his earlier preference for a very different ceremony to express the idea of his return to homage at Montmirail in 1169: Gillingham, 'Doing Homage', pp. 75–83. Cf. John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 263.

⁷³ At Issoudun in December 1195 Philip was forced to accept Richard as his man again (see van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens*, pp. 330–31) and this, though susceptible of being interpreted at the French court as Richard doing homage (Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Carpenter and others, cap. 117, p. 336), may have been expressed in body language more akin to that between Louis and Henry at Montmirail. According to William of Newburgh, the two kings, armed and on horseback, talked for a while between the armies and then took off their helmets and embraced: Newburgh, II, 461–62.

⁷⁴ E.g. *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Holden, II, 36–37, lines 10724–29.

is what meetings on the border between the domains of two kings signalled.⁷⁵ As has often been pointed out, in January 1079 at Gerberoy, William signed as *rex Anglorum*, and with no hint of his Norman duchy.⁷⁶ The texts of the treaties of 1177, 1180, 1196, and 1200 indicate that both kings swore in person to abide by the agreed terms — a clear indication of equal status.⁷⁷ There are overtones of equality as well as togetherness in the description, in a document drawn up in the name of the two kings and copied into Philip II's register, of Philip and Richard *pariter* entering the chapter house of Saint Martin's, Tours.⁷⁸

Since conferences normally began with envoys, including men of high rank, moving between the kings, it seems that the opening stages of many summits can be construed as normal practice accelerated by vicinity.⁷⁹ Thus when Philip and John met in August 1199 they conferred for two days *per internuncios suos*, before meeting face to face on the third day.⁸⁰ According to Roger of Howden, when John met Philip in June 1201 near the Isle of Andeli, only the two of them knew what had been said.⁸¹ The fact that Roger remarked on this suggests that others were usually present at face-to-face meetings. But even if no one else were close enough to take part in the discussion or hear what was said, there were surely spectators who saw it happen. In January 1200 the two kings talked for a long time before, to the wonder

⁷⁵ According to Ralph of Coggeshall, when John was summoned to the French king's court at Paris to answer charges brought by the Lusignans against him as Count of Poitou and Anjou, his response was that as Duke of Normandy he was bound only to attend meetings at the frontier. Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, Rolls Series, 66 (London: Longman, 1875), pp. 135–36.

⁷⁶ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 28; C. Warren Hollister, 'Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman Regnum', *Speculum*, 51 (1976), 202–42, repr. in his *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions*, pp. 17–57 (pp. 25–27).

⁷⁷ Howden, *Gesta*, I, 191–94, 247–49; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Henri-François Delaborde and others, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1916–79), II, no. 517, pp. 52–57; Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 148–51. For the significance of kings swearing oaths in person, see Voss, *Herrschartreffen*, pp. 195–96.

⁷⁸ Although the document was drawn up in July 1190, it refers to a court held a year earlier, before Richard had become king: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Delaborde and others, I, no. 361, p. 438.

⁷⁹ See, for instance, the vivid description of the comings and goings near Gisors in the summer of 1188: *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Holden, I, 374–92, lines 7368–7728.

⁸⁰ Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 94–95.

⁸¹ Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 164. Cf. Henry and Stephen, *rex solus et dux solus*, conferring while separated by a stream: HH, p. 766.

of all who were standing far off in a circle round them, falling into mutual embrace.⁸² At Issoudun in December 1195 the two kings conferred alone and with some distance between themselves and their armies before embracing in the sight of all.⁸³

Not all the summits were bilateral ones. Count Philip of Flanders was at most of those from 1180 onwards, including one near Gisors in 1181 which was attended by no fewer than four kings: of France, of Scotland, and the two kings of England, father and son.⁸⁴ The presence of other participants was obviously not always welcome to both sides. As a signal that the counts of Flanders and Boulogne had changed sides and were now his allies, Richard 'most gracefully led the two counts by the hand' when he went to a *parlement* with Philip; the latter broke off the talks protesting that he had envisaged a meeting with Richard alone.⁸⁵ From 1174 until the end of their father's reign one or more of Henry's sons often attended these family conferences. But Henry's wife never did, nor did either Richard's or John's wife.⁸⁶ By contrast when Frederick Barbarossa met Louis VII on the Franco-German border in 1171, both men were accompanied by their wives.⁸⁷ On a few occasions the presence of women was important enough to be recorded. The countesses of Champagne and Beaumont were at La Grange-Saint-Arnoul in April 1182.⁸⁸ The Countess of Champagne was also present in March 1186 when the Young King's widow Margaret agreed to accept an annual pension in lieu of her dowry and dower.⁸⁹ The only recorded meeting in this period

⁸² Gervase, II, 92. Cf. Gervase, I, 435 for the two kings, Count Richard, and the Archbishop of Reims standing inside a ring of 'innumerable people' in November 1188.

⁸³ Newburgh, II, 461–62.

⁸⁴ What a rarity, observed the Dean of Saint Paul's, four kings going to a conference in peace and departing in peace: *Radulfi de Diceto*, ed. by Stubbs, II, 7.

⁸⁵ *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Holden, II, 34–36, lines 10,703–37. The date of this incident is uncertain, either 1197 or 1198.

⁸⁶ After Eleanor and Louis were divorced in 1152, the next time she met a King of France was in 1199 when she did homage to Philip *apud Turonis*: Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Carpentier and others, cap. 136, p. 360. In March 1191 Philip had very pointedly sailed from Messina a few hours before Eleanor arrived there.

⁸⁷ And the Empress Beatrix had also gone to the abortive meeting at Saint-Jean-de-Losne in 1162: Voss, *Herrschartreffen*, p. 171.

⁸⁸ *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by Brewer and others, VIII, 189–90; Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. by Napran, cap. 103.

⁸⁹ *Radulfi de Diceto*, ed. by Stubbs, II, 40. Margaret may also have been present in December 1183 when agreement was first reached, though Roger of Howden's language suggests that it was

between a King of England and a Queen of France occurred when Henry visited Paris in 1158.⁹⁰

Visits

In September 1158, soon after the meeting on 31 August at which the marriage between young Henry and Margaret had been arranged, Henry went to Paris to fetch Margaret.⁹¹ Louis welcomed him 'cum magno honore et comitatu'. Amid general rejoicing Henry was received in the royal palace which was fitted out in a manner appropriate to so great a king. That evening in a display of mutual affection the two kings dined together.⁹² Next day Louis escorted Henry and the little girl back to Mantes. Both coming and going Henry was generously provided for by Louis. When Louis returned the visit in November, Henry met him near Pacy, then brought him via Evreux and Neubourg (where his daughter was being looked after) to Bec. There the two kings were received in solemn procession and stayed the night, Louis in the greater hall, Henry in the other.

The king of England had ordered this, so that the king of France should always have the better accommodation. In this place Louis said he could love no one as much as he loved the king of England. Wonder of wonders! Who had ever heard of the kings of England and France being joined by so much love?

From Bec, Henry escorted Louis through his cities and castles to Mont-Saint-Michel and then back again into France via Rouen. Henry's admirer, Abbot Robert, observed the splendid reception given to the two kings at Mont-Saint-

her half-brother Philip who decided what terms she was willing to accept: Howden, *Gesta*, I, 305–06. For another occasion when Roger may have thought the presence of a woman, in this case the widowed queen of France, not worth noting, see Howden, *Gesta*, I, 246.

⁹⁰ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 196. Ralph of Diss noted where the King and Queen of France stayed when they vacated their palace for Henry: *Radulfi de Diceto*, ed. by Stubbs, I, 302–03.

⁹¹ The following account of the exchange of visits in 1158 is based primarily on the narrative by the anonymous monk of Bec who composed a continuation of the chronicle which Robert of Torigny had begun there before he went as abbot to Mont Saint-Michel, in Howlett, *CRSHR*, IV, 317–27 (pp. 319–20).

⁹² This is the only time that it is explicitly recorded that Henry and Louis dined together, but in the light of the descriptions of Louis's return visit to Normandy, it is impossible to believe that it did not happen several more times at least.

Michel on 23 November, where they heard Mass, before Henry escorted Louis back to the Norman frontier.⁹³

Of course Louis remained in his own kingdom throughout his pilgrimage, but the political messages were there for all to see. According to Gervase, they returned via Bayeux, Caen, and Rouen, Henry escorting him with as much glory and magnificence of honour as he had earlier received in France.⁹⁴ Louis was Henry's guest — and not just for one night as when Henry was in Paris. He was given an extended guided tour of the wealth of Normandy.⁹⁵ It was done, no doubt, with the ostentatious courtesy noted by the Bec continuator, but by ensuring that Louis was 'well provided for throughout the whole journey' and 'by plying him with royal gifts', Henry was reminding Louis that he had, as Wace put it, 'so much land and so many towns, and he is able to call upon so many men that he can make Louis and his men tremble'.⁹⁶ Of all the visits paid to one another by the twelfth-century kings of England and France this was by far the longest.⁹⁷ This was just one of the ways Henry deployed his greater wealth. At a conference in Easter 1166 Louis announced that he and all his subjects would contribute a penny in the pound for five years for the defence of Jerusalem, so Henry decided that his subjects would give twice as much in the first of the five years. According to Walter Map, at Senlis in 1182, the French were reduced to a stunned silence when Henry promised 60,000 marks as aid for the Holy Land.⁹⁸

He did not always flaunt his greater wealth. Apparently he took only a few people with him to Paris in September 1158.⁹⁹ But this restraint has to be seen in the context of Thomas Becket's famous embassy to Paris a few weeks earlier. According to William fitz Stephen, the chancellor's display of wealth led the French to

⁹³ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 198. On kings hearing Mass together and dining together, see Voss, *Herrschartreffen*, pp. 146–50.

⁹⁴ Gervase, I, 166.

⁹⁵ Cf. the Anonymous of Laon's interpretation of a tour on which he supposed Henry II had led envoys from the Emperor Manuel, 'et per civitates et castella deducens, quasi gloriam et opum suarum abundantiam eis ostensuros': *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. by M. Bouquet and others, 24 vols (Paris, 1738–1904), XIII, 679.

⁹⁶ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 198; Howlett, *CRSHR*, IV, 320. Wace, pp. 4–5. Contrast the account of Louis's Norman journey in Yves Sassier, *Louis VII* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), p. 281.

⁹⁷ Though still significantly shorter than two of Henry III's visits to France.

⁹⁸ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 227; Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. and trans. by James and others, pp. 482–84.

⁹⁹ At least this is what Abbot Robert believed (probably on the strength of what Henry told him): Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 196.

observe 'what a wonderful man the king of England must be, if his chancellor travels in such magnificent state'. If Louis was impressed by Becket's wealth, he may not have been so pleased by his manners. Fitz Stephen remarked on the 'noble custom of French kings that they provide for everyone coming to and staying at their court', and yet reported that Becket provided for himself in extravagant style by sending servants on ahead in disguise to buy up vast quantities of food and drink.¹⁰⁰ Henry's own visit to Paris was presumably calibrated so as to make up for his chancellor's lack of tact. He travelled in modest style and allowed King Louis to provide for him.¹⁰¹ It was the King, not his chancellor, who took Margaret back to Normandy.¹⁰² With this small girl in his custody, Henry could look forward to the possibility that his eldest son would one day become King of France — a possibility brought a step nearer when he had the two children married in November 1160 and took immediate possession of the fortresses of the Norman Vexin. Although Louis was angered by what he naturally regarded as Henry's chicanery and war followed, there was nothing he could do about it. By 1164 John of Salisbury was describing him as a broken reed.¹⁰³ Henry's visit to Paris had been a diplomatic coup. It is worth noting that although the author of the *Historia Ludovici gloriosi regis* mentioned the Duke in Paris in 1151, he said nothing whatever about the King in Paris in 1158. By contrast King Henry's visit was remembered by Walter Map and recorded by four Norman and English chroniclers: the Bec continuator, Robert of Torigny, Ralph of Diss, and Gervase of Canterbury.

¹⁰⁰ William fitz Stephen, *Vita sancti Thomae Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martyris*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by James Craigie Robertson and Joseph B. Sheppard, 7 vols, Rolls Series, 67 (London: Longman, 1875–85), III, 32–33.

¹⁰¹ According to Lewis Warren, Henry declined 'the lavish hospitality which was offered him': W. Lewis Warren, *Henry II* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), p. 77. Warren was perhaps relying on Robert of Torigny's report that Henry refused to be to be received in any church *cum processione*, but the very well-informed Bec continuator makes clear that he was generously supplied: Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 197; Howlett, *CRSHR*, IV, 319.

¹⁰² It is unclear whether Becket's embassy preceded or followed the meeting of the kings on 31 August. If the embassy was successful, as fitz Stephen claimed, then it must have happened before then — as Warren assumed, *Henry II*, pp. 71–72 — since if he went in early September to collect Margaret, he failed. But according to Ralph of Diss, who was probably studying there at the time, Thomas 'came to Paris in order to receive the king's daughter': *Radulfi de Diceto*, ed. by Stubbs, I, pp. xxxiii, 302. See above, note 90, for an instance of Ralph's local knowledge.

¹⁰³ *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Millor, Butler, and Brooke, II, no. 136; *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Anne Duggan, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), I, no. 24, p. 76.

In the history of relations between the kings 1158 was an extraordinary year, and so too was 1169. In that year Henry made no fewer than three journeys into Capetian territory to see Louis.¹⁰⁴ He went twice in February, first to Saint-Léger-en-Yvelines and then to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and once, to Saint-Denis, in November. The first and third of these visits are known only from authors involved in or subsequently telling the story of the Becket dispute.¹⁰⁵ But, as Chaplais observed, 'it would certainly be wrong to suppose that because a large proportion of Henry's diplomatic correspondence concerns his dispute with Becket, little else of diplomatic importance happened during his reign'.¹⁰⁶ The second meeting in February, at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, unremarked by those contemporaries who were obsessed by the Becket affair and ignored by modern historians of Henry II's reign, was recorded only by Robert of Torigny and Stephen of Rouen.¹⁰⁷ Evidently other matters were on the agenda, although Torigny says nothing explicitly about what they were.¹⁰⁸ From Stephen's account it is plain that the matter of Richard's betrothal to Alice, confirmed at Montmirail a few weeks earlier, was discussed.¹⁰⁹ That at some stage Alice came into King Henry's custody is certain. But when? The only chronicler to say is Roger of Howden, and his date, 1161, is impossible — though it is significant that, writing in the 1190s, and with a good knowledge of Angevin court politics, he thought Henry's possession of Alice important enough to be worth providing with a history.¹¹⁰ Had it been in the hope of securing

¹⁰⁴ Though none of these meetings with Louis rates a mention in Warren's great biography of Henry II.

¹⁰⁵ On the meeting at Saint-Léger, see Guernes, *Vie de saint Thomas*, ed. by Walberg, p. 128; *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Millor, Butler, and Brooke, II, 644; *Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, II, no. 187, p. 829.

¹⁰⁶ Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁷ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 241; *The 'Draco Normannicus' of Etienne de Rouen*, II, 755. This is to accept Halphen's argument that the difficulties of fitting Saint-Germain-en-Laye into the metre of Latin verse led to Stephen of Rouen referring to it as 'the fields of Poissy': Halphen, 'Les Entrevues', p. 257. For Stephen's special interest in Poissy, see Elisabeth van Houts, 'Latin and French as Languages of the Past in Normandy during the Reign of Henry II: Robert of Torigny, Stephen of Rouen and Wace', in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II*, ed. by Kennedy and Meecham-Jones, pp. 53–77 (p. 56).

¹⁰⁸ His report that young Henry served as steward at Louis's table in Paris and had done homage to Louis's son Philip implies that the agreements made at Montmirail in January were being rapidly implemented: Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 240–41.

¹⁰⁹ *The 'Draco Normannicus' of Etienne de Rouen*, II, 756.

¹¹⁰ Howden, *Chronica*, I, 217–18. On the unreliability of this section of his chronicle, see Gillingham, 'Doing Homage', pp. 70–71.

possession of Alice that Henry in February 1169, immediately after the betrothal at Montmirail, had twice travelled into Capetian territory — just as he had in September 1158, immediately after the betrothal of 31 August? In view of the way Henry had exploited his custody of Margaret and the worries about her which Louis expressed to John of Salisbury in 1164, it would hardly be surprising if in 1169 he were reluctant to hand over a second daughter.¹¹¹

In November Henry announced that he was going to Saint-Denis. He was, according to Gervase, ‘desperate to confer with the king of the French’ and so he entered France ‘as though he were going to pray’.¹¹² But was he desperate to talk to Louis about Becket?¹¹³ When Henry, on his way back from Saint-Denis on 18 November, met Becket at Montmartre, his refusal to give him a kiss of peace suggests he was anything but desperate to settle that dispute.¹¹⁴ Herbert of Bosham’s memory was that Henry tricked Louis into seeing him by announcing that he was coming to Saint-Denis not only to pray but also to see his new lord, Louis’s young son Philip.¹¹⁵ In a letter which Becket wrote shortly afterwards, he said that Henry’s real reason for going to Saint-Denis ‘was to deceive the most Christian king which he nearly did. It was agreed between them [...] that the king would hand his son Richard over to King Louis for education and training’. Then, after a long account of his own quarrel with Henry, Becket returned briefly to the subject which seems to have concerned the kings more. As Henry returned to Normandy, Louis

accompanied him to Mantes and beyond, almost as far as Pacy, waiting for him to hand over his son Richard as agreed. But he promised that he would do so at the Tours meeting, at which the lord king and his advisers realised that they were being tricked.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ *Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, I, no. 24, p. 70.

¹¹² Gervase, I, 213. Cf. Becket’s claim that Henry went to Saint-Denis ‘with simulated devotion’: *Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, II, 1046.

¹¹³ Neither Master Vivian’s letter to Becket entreating him to attend the meeting on 18 November nor Becket’s reply indicates that the Archbishop was the main item on Henry’s agenda: *Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, II, nos 239–40, pp. 1025–31. For Henry II’s attitude in the autumn of 1169, see Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London: Arnold, 2004), pp. 172–76.

¹¹⁴ Hanna Vollrath, ‘The Kiss of Peace’, in *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History*, ed. by Randall Lesaffer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 162–83 (pp. 177–82).

¹¹⁵ Herbert of Bosham, *Vita sancti Thomae*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, III, 445–46. Cf. ‘Family matters were very much on his mind’: Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, p. 194.

¹¹⁶ *Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, II, no. 243, pp. 1046, 1050–52.

Evidently on this occasion Henry's deceits had more to do with Richard — and therefore with Alice — than with Thomas, and if, in the end, Louis and his advisers realized they had been deceived, does this not suggest that they had handed Alice over? It looks as though when Henry went in November, he took Richard with him, promising an exchange of children but then did not deliver. For Louis VII to lose one daughter may have been a misfortune, but to lose two was carelessness, all the more disturbing in view of the allegation — made as recently as 1168 — that Henry had made Count Eudo of Brittany's daughter pregnant while she was in his custody.¹¹⁷ If Henry's visits in 1169, like his visit in 1158, had been about the acquisition of a political asset as important as a daughter of the King of France, then to see them as expressions of subservience is to emphasize the surface at the expense of the substance.¹¹⁸

On the other hand this is a much more plausible interpretation of King John's visit to Paris in 1201. According to Rigord, he was received with honour by the king and given a processional welcome into the church of Saint-Denis, then installed in the royal palace, where he and his people were liberally supplied with the King's wines and he was showered with expensive gifts, gold, silver, precious garments, and Spanish destriers.¹¹⁹ According to the Anonymous of Béthune, Philip and his people stayed elsewhere, and when they returned to their palace they had a good laugh; the King of England's people had drunk all the bad wines and left all the good ones.¹²⁰ In Paris John reaffirmed his willingness to help crusaders, but if he had any political purpose in mind when he accepted Philip's invitation to

¹¹⁷ *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Millor, Butler, and Brooke, II, no. 279, p. 602.

¹¹⁸ It was not always to a lord's advantage to be cast in the role of 'donneur des dames': Aurell, *L'Empire des Plantagenêt*, p. 142. The omission from Lewis Warren's great biography of Henry II of all three of these meetings with Alice's father in 1169 may be a symptom of his discomfort with the story of Henry and Alice.

¹¹⁹ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Carpentier and others, cap. 142, p. 368.

¹²⁰ *Chronique des rois de France*, ed. by Léopold Delisle, in *Recueil des historiens*, ed. by Bouquet and others, XXIV. 2 (1904), 760. We can be fairly sure that the Anonymous did not intend readers to understand that he thought King John's people had left the good wines untouched as an act of courtesy to their host. In his opinion John was a cruel man lacking in courtesy. On his well-informed views, see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 244–53, and John Gillingham, 'The Anonymous of Béthune, King John and Magna Carta', in *Magna Carta and the England of King John*, ed. by Janet S. Loengard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), pp. 27–44.

Paris, it escaped notice.¹²¹ In any event any plans John may have been making were swept away by Philip's invasion of Normandy in the next year.

In some ways the most astonishing visit of all, the only time that a reigning King of France crossed the Channel of his own free will, occurred in August 1179 when Louis VII, desperately worried about the health of his only son, suddenly decided to pray at Becket's tomb. As both Dean Ralph and Herbert of Bosham observed, this was unheard of; no French king had ever visited England.¹²² There was something very like panic at Henry's court when they heard the news. Gervase of Canterbury describes how Henry rode through the night (*tota nocte equitans*) in order to be able to meet Louis on the seashore at Dover.¹²³ Henry then escorted him to Canterbury where he was given a magnificent welcome, to which he responded with an offering of gold, and wine for monks. In return Henry 'distributed many treasures'. But the French, according to Dean Ralph, showed restraint: 'they held their hands back from the king's bounty, preferring to suffer a kind of martyrdom in this way rather than be thought to have been drawn to Canterbury by anything other than the martyr'.¹²⁴

For Henry this must have been an awkward visit. Although he now saw himself as reconciled with the saint, customarily going to his shrine whenever he returned to England, other pilgrims may well have seen the King of England in a less favourable light.¹²⁵ At Canterbury moreover he could not impress visitors with a display of regal wealth and power of the kind he had laid on when Louis visited Normandy in 1158. This at least he could begin to remedy, as he did by immediately ordering that surge of spending on Dover Castle which turned it into the greatest fortress of the day in the West, a highly visible symbol of royal power, one which would impress Canterbury pilgrims coming from abroad even before they set foot on English soil.¹²⁶

¹²¹ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Delaborde and others, II, no. 680. Neither Roger nor Gervase reported anything more about the visit other than John's reception: Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 164; Gervase, II, 93.

¹²² Not as reigning king at any rate. Louis (VI) came over before he became king. See above, note 14.

¹²³ Howden, *Gesta*, I, 241; Gervase, I, 293. Dean Ralph also emphasized the speed with which Henry responded to the news of Louis's plan: *Radulfi de Diceto*, ed. by Stubbs, I, 433.

¹²⁴ Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', IV, 283; *Radulfi de Diceto*, ed. by Stubbs, I, 433.

¹²⁵ On Henry's new custom, see Howden, *Gesta*, I, 207.

¹²⁶ Thomas K. Keefe, 'Shrine Time: King Henry II's Visits to Thomas Becket's Tomb', *HSJ*, 11 (1998), 115–23. It was in the financial year beginning in September 1179, one month after

Less remarkable — yet still surprising — was the one peaceful journey which Philip II made into Normandy. In November 1185, according to Dean Ralph, he stayed for three days with a sick King Henry at Beauvoir, presumably Beauvoir-en-Lyon. Since this happened at about the time of another conference convened to make peace between King Philip and Count Philip, it looks as though the visit may have reflected the King's gratitude for Henry's continuing role in the Franco-Flemish dispute.¹²⁷

Why So Many Meetings?

Part of the answer to this question, in addition to the considerations such as the marital connections adduced above (p. 23), is surely to be found in the personalities of the kings. Henry, as a skilful and persuasive speaker, evidently believed that he was good at meetings, and Louis, as a good lord, was willing to go along in the hope of peace.¹²⁸ Thomas Becket bitterly remarked that Henry's usual fashion when negotiating in his mother tongue was to set intolerable conditions, yet all the while using words which made the more simple-minded believe he was granting them everything they wanted.¹²⁹ Louis VII, whom Henry was able to flatter and deceive, was to be numbered among the 'more simple-minded'. In Herbert of Bosham's words, Henry 'calculated on pleasing Louis by an appearance of humility, knowing that a gentle and mild man can easily be conquered by humility'.¹³⁰ From 1158 onwards Henry played this tune.¹³¹ At the peace conference of Montmirail, convened at Epiphany 1169, Henry, according to William of Canterbury, spoke

Louis VII's visit, that Henry first spent more on Dover than on any other castle in England: John Gillingham, 'Henry II, Becket and the Building of Dover Castle' (forthcoming). No doubt it would have been possible to improve the king's castle at Canterbury, but whatever Henry did there, Canterbury would always be the city of the archbishop and the monks of Christ Church.

¹²⁷ *Radulfi de Diceto*, ed. by Stubbs, II, 38. On the date, see Alexander Cartellieri, *Philipp II: August König von Frankreich*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Dyksche, 1899–1922), I, 186–87.

¹²⁸ 'It is easy to underestimate [...] the obligations of lordship': Dunbabin, 'Henry II and Louis VII', p. 54. In theory the lord was as much obliged to assist his man as the man his lord. For an example of Henry manipulating this notion, see Howden, *Gesta*, I, 198.

¹²⁹ *Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ed. and trans. by Duggan, II, 1050.

¹³⁰ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, III, 445.

¹³¹ Contrast the interpretation in Yves Sassier, 'Reverentia regis Henri II face à Louis VII', in *1204: La Normandie entre les Plantagenêts et Capétiens*, ed. by Anne-Marie Flambard Héricher and Véronique Gazeau (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2007), pp. 23–35.

to Louis: 'Today, my lord king, the day on which three kings offered gifts to the king of kings, I commend myself, my sons and my land into your keeping.'¹³² That Richard too prided himself on his talent for face-to-face meetings is clear. More than once he requested a summit meeting with Saladin, and when the latter refused he pressed, with more success, for meetings with Saladin's brother and prospective successor, Al-Adil.¹³³ By the time of John's accession a pattern of frequent face-to-face meetings had been firmly established. This made no structural change to the balance of power between the two kings, but it created a new political style which meant that these rulers got to know each other as individuals much better than all their predecessors and — apart from Louis IX and Henry III — successors. This was to be to John's cost and Philip's advantage.

¹³² William of Canterbury, *Vita et Passio sancti Thomae*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by Robertson and Sheppard, I, 73.

¹³³ Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 19–23, 237–38.

DUCHESSSES OF NORMANDY IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

Judith A. Green

In recent years valuable insights into power in medieval Europe between the tenth and thirteenth centuries have been gained through the study of women.¹ Studies of individual queens and noblewomen have deepened our understanding of the circumstances in which high-status women could access power and influence.² Although there has been work on individuals, such as Gunnor and

This paper owes its origins to a question posed to me by David Bates about gender in the context of the court of Henry I. Earlier versions were delivered at the Denys Hay seminar in the University of Edinburgh and the International Medieval Congress at Leeds in 2008. My thanks to all who offered comments on those occasions, to Judith Everard for a discussion of the style used by Eleanor of Aquitaine in her charters, and to Kirsten Fenton for commenting on an earlier draft.

¹ For a useful brief guide to historiography, see Susan M. Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Realm* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 1–10; for aristocratic women in France a good starting point is the collection of essays edited by Theodore Evergates, *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); for queenship, see Pauline Stafford, 'Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 3–26; Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma & Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 51–52, 229–36; Pauline Stafford, 'Writing the Biography of Eleventh-Century English Queens', in *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. by David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 99–109; Pauline Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries', in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by John Carmi Parsons (Stroud: Sutton, 1994), pp. 143–67; Ralph V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen of France, Queen of England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

² For a valuable recent discussion, see Kimberley LoPrete, 'Women, Gender and Lordship in France, c. 1050–1250', *History Compass*, 5/6 (2007), 1921–41. Studies of individual women

Matilda of Flanders, the general topic of duchesses of Normandy has been relatively neglected.³ In one sense this is hardly surprising: our view of the rise of ducal Normandy and the success of its leaders is conditioned by historians of the Normans, who portray a drama of warriors in which women have only walk-on parts. This point might be extended to the Bayeux tapestry, executed, we assume, by women and yet a story of the deeds of men in which only a handful of women figure: the mysterious Ælgyva, the weeping Queen Edith, and the woman burned out of her home by the soldiers.⁴

Evidence about duchesses (this term will be used for simplicity's sake though, as we shall see, it was not used consistently by wives of those who ruled the duchy) come from very different sources. In the first place there are the narratives, especially those generated by the Normans themselves, from the time of Dudo of Saint-Quentin in the early eleventh century to Benoît of Saint-Maure in the reign of Henry II.⁵ These are interesting in the way they represent duchesses, for perceptions of their role, and for the way they were adjusted to meet changing circumstances: the development of stories about Duchess Gunnor is a case in point. From the eleventh century charters survive, and these give us some impression of the

include Stafford, *Queen Edith & Queen Emma*; Kimberley A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord* (c. 1067–1137) (Dublin: Four Courts, 2007); Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003); Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991); Rosalind Jaeger Reynolds, 'Reading Matilda: The Self-Fashioning of a Duchess', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 19 (2002), 1–13; David J. Hay, *The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa, 1046–1115* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008); Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca* (Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1982); Therese Martin, 'The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain', *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 1134–71, and Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. by Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

³ Elisabeth van Houts, 'Countess Gunnor of Normandy (c. 950–1031)', *Collegium Medievale*, 12 (1999), 7–24; Elisabeth van Houts, 'Matilda (d. 1083)', *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18335>>.

⁴ In the edition of the tapestry by David M. Wilson (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), they are scenes 17, 30, and 45.

⁵ Dudo; Benoît de Saint-Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Carin Fahlin, 3 vols (Uppsala: Universitas Upsaliensis, 1951–67); for later developments, see Daniel Power, 'The Striping of a Queen: Eleanor of Aquitaine in Thirteenth-Century Norman Tradition', in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. by Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 115–35.

occasions when wives issued charters or attested those of their husbands, what position they occupied in witness lists, and how they described themselves. Charters of Duke Richard II supply evidence about the provision of land for his wife Judith, for Leutgarde, wife of William Longsword, and for his mother, Gunnor.⁶ David Bates has recently demonstrated how the charters of William the Conqueror and Matilda of Flanders provide clues about their roles in England and Normandy between 1066 and 1087.⁷ By the twelfth century there are more charters, some with seals supplying information about visual representation and titles. Surviving funerary monuments, especially those of Matilda of Flanders and Eleanor of Aquitaine, are evidence of a different kind.⁸ A handful of surviving objects, finally, are tangible reminders of the great wealth of these women.⁹

A comprehensive study of all duchesses between 911 and 1204 lies outside the scope of this paper. Instead the focus here is on Gunnor, Matilda of Flanders, Empress Matilda, and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Three inter-related themes are explored. The first is representation, the second is female agency, and the third considers gender and power in the governance of England and Normandy in the early twelfth century.

In their descriptions of these wives and concubines, the historians of the Normans not only referred to their birth and ancestry, but also to their bearing and personal qualities. Dudo of Saint-Quentin, the earliest, wrote of Gisela, daughter of Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks, and (allegedly) wife of Rollo, that she was 'tall and and shapely, an unsullied virgin, provident in counsel, careful in her public dealings, most affable in speech, skilled in handicraft'.¹⁰ Leutgarde, daughter of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and wife of William Longsword, was similarly described as having a 'most noble, most attractive appearance [... she was]

⁶ *RADN*, nos 11, 14 bis, and 17.

⁷ David Bates, 'The Representation of Queenship in Anglo-Norman Charters', in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 285–303.

⁸ The slab covering Matilda's tomb at La Trinité still survives. For Eleanor's tomb, see now Kathleen Nolan, 'The Queen's Choice: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Tombs at Fontevraud', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, ed. by Wheeler and Parsons, pp. 377–405. That of Berengaria of Navarre is at the abbey of L'Épau near Le Mans, and that of Isabella at Fontevraud.

⁹ See Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, p. 189, for a filigree cross given by her to the abbey of Le Valasse. For the vase thought to have been given by Eleanor to King Louis, see George T. Beech, 'The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, ed. by Wheeler and Parsons, pp. 369–76.

¹⁰ Dudo, pp. 166–67.

abundantly shrewd in the conduct of public business, highly compatible with him in the suitability of her converse, most prudent and eloquent in her speech, in womanly ways most decoratively and artfully skilled'.¹¹ Of Emma, daughter of Hugh the Great and first wife of Richard I, he wrote, 'we have heard she is a girl of the most accomplished appearance and manner, fit for the mingling of wedded procreation'.¹² These paragons were thus described in ways that identified public as well as private virtues. High-status wives did of course have duties at court beyond that of handicraft, in particular that of acting as intercessors on behalf of others.

This may be illustrated by Gunnor, Richard I's mistress and second wife. She occurs in the early eleventh-century poem *Moriuh*, by Warner of Rouen. Warner's wife had been enslaved, and he appealed to Gunnor for assistance. She was the 'lady extraordinary', mother of Archbishop Robert of Rouen, who promised to restore his wife to him.¹³ Of all the early wives and concubines, it is Gunnor who emerges most clearly as a powerful figure. A concubine before she was a wife, she outlived her husband by more than thirty years. She continued her public life and witnessed charters issued by her son, preceding her daughter-in-law Judith of Brittany in charter witness lists.¹⁴ She amply fulfilled her duty to produce children, of whom William of Jumièges mentioned five sons and three daughters, one of whom, Emma, married King Æthelred of England.¹⁵ She was especially remembered at Coutances, where she laid the foundation stone of the new cathedral, and at the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel, to which she gave land from her dower.¹⁶ The latter community had been refounded as a Benedictine abbey in the tenth century and, situated as it was 'between' Normandy and Brittany, attracted benefactions from the Breton counts. Gunnor's was the first gift from a member of the Norman

¹¹ Dudo, p. 193.

¹² Dudo, pp. 264–65, 289.

¹³ Warner of Rouen, *Moriuh: A Norman Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, ed. and trans. by Christopher J. McDonough (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995). For a discussion of the poetic treatment of the duchess here, see van Houts, 'Countess Gunnor', p. 19.

¹⁴ Van Houts, 'Countess Gunnor', p. 17; *RADN*, nos 14 bis, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 29, 32, 43, and 47.

¹⁵ *GND*, I, 128–30.

¹⁶ For Coutances, see *RADN*, no. 214: charter of William the Conqueror in which he confirmed, amongst other gifts, that of 'Gonnor ancilla dei'; for her gifts to Mont-Saint-Michel, at Bretteville-sur-Odon near Caen and Domjean near Tessy-sur-Vire, see *The Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. by Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), no. 4; *RADN*, no. 17.

ruling house.¹⁷ Although nothing for certain is known of her family origins, her association with western Normandy has been noted by historians, leading to the suggestion that this union was important in strengthening ducal authority in the west of the duchy.¹⁸

The importance of circumstance and personality in conditioning female agency is reinforced by the lower profile of Gunnor's immediate successors as duchesses, the two wives of Richard II and that of Richard III. The first of these, Judith, was Breton, remembered for her wish that the abbey of Bernay be refounded.¹⁹ The second, Papia, came from upper Normandy, but little is known about her.²⁰ Richard III was only briefly duke. He married Adela of France and issued a charter spelling out her dower.²¹ In contrast, much more is known about William the Conqueror's wife, who emerges from narrative and charter evidence as an important political figure.

William's choice of a bride, Matilda of Flanders, combined distinguished ancestry (her grandfather was Robert the Pious, king of France) with the potential for William to strengthen good relations with a powerful neighbour. The alliance was not without problems as it fell within the prohibited degrees of kinship, but it was apparently successful and was certainly fruitful.²² She bore eight or nine children and was said to have been particularly close to her eldest son, Robert, to

¹⁷ Cassandra Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), p. 98; for the context, see Cassandra Potts, 'Normandy or Brittany? A Conflict of Interests at Mont-Saint-Michel', *ANS*, 12 (1989), 135–56.

¹⁸ Eleanor Searle, 'Fact and Pattern in Heroic History: Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *Viator*, 15 (1984), 119–37 (pp. 133–37); Potts, *Monastic Revival*, p. 98. For a corrective, see van Houts, 'Countess Gunnor', p. 17.

¹⁹ *RADN*, no. 35; *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Jumièges (v. 825 à 1204)*, ed. by J. Vernier, 2 vols, Société de l'Histoire de Normandie (Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1916), I, no. 3.

²⁰ Papia's mother was a benefactor of Saint Mary Rouen: *RADN*, no. 52. Her brothers became monks at Saint-Wandrille, so it has been suggested that she may have been an heiress: Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power 840–1066* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 141–42, 301 n. 43. Her sons were Archbishop Mauger of Rouen and William, count of Arques: *GND*, II, 102–03.

²¹ *RADN*, no. 58.

²² The projected marriage was condemned by Pope Leo IX at the Council of Reims because it fell within the prohibited degrees: Anselm, 'Historia Dedicationis Ecclesiae S. Remigii', *PL*, 142, col. 1437C. Notwithstanding any objections, it went ahead, and by the twelfth century it was believed that the pair founded the abbeys of Saint-Etienne and La Trinité in penance.

whom she sent funds when he quarrelled with his father.²³ She was proud of her royal descent, recorded on her tomb which still survives at Caen.²⁴ She supported her husband's expedition to England by the gift of a ship, the *Mora*.²⁵ The success of that expedition brought changes for Matilda as well as for her husband. In 1066 she had remained in Normandy, acting with senior magnates and on behalf of their young son Robert as proxies for the absent Duke.²⁶ Again such a role was not uncommon in the Iberian kingdoms, and Duchess Matilda of Tuscany provides another contemporary example.²⁷ It was to continue subsequently: in 1075, for instance, she was present when Count Simon of the Vexin restored Gisors to Rouen cathedral.²⁸ Five years later she presided over a land plea at Cherbourg, having been instructed to do so by her absent husband.²⁹ On other occasions she acted in partnership with William.³⁰

However, Matilda was the first duchess who was crowned queen of the English. William was said to have wanted her to be crowned alongside him.³¹ It was crucial for establishing the legitimacy of their children in England that she formally undergo the rite of coronation. Not only that, but there was at least one and possibly two other queens living at the time: Edith, King Edward's widow, and Ealdgyth, widow of Harold.³² Edith in particular managed to retain her vast landed wealth,

²³ For the children, see Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Methuen, 1983), Appendix A, pp. 411–15. For the daughters, see Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Echo of the Conquest in the Latin Sources: Duchess Matilda, her Daughters and the Enigma of the Golden Child', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: Embroidering the Facts of History*, ed. by Pierre Bouet, Brian Levy, and François Neveux (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2004), pp. 135–53. For her assistance to her son, see *OV*, III, 102–04.

²⁴ For the legend, see *OV*, IV, 44–46.

²⁵ Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *ANS*, 10 (1987), 159–83 (p. 176); van Houts, 'Echo of the Conquest', pp. 149–53.

²⁶ *OV*, II, 208, 210; *WP*, p. 178.

²⁷ For Iberian examples, see Roger Collins, 'Queens Dowager and Queens Regent in Tenth-Century León and Navarre', in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by Parsons, pp. 79–92. For Adela, see LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, pp. 94–101. For Duchess Matilda, see Reynolds, 'Reading Matilda'.

²⁸ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 229; for discussion, see Bates, 'Representation of Queenship', p. 288.

²⁹ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 200; Bates, 'Representation of Queenship', p. 289.

³⁰ Bates, *Regesta*, nos 29 (i) and 162; Bates, 'Representation of Queenship', pp. 288–89.

³¹ *WP*, p. 148.

³² Edith died in 1075. The date of Ealdgyth's death is not known. It is possible that Judith, widow of Tostig Godwinson, regarded herself as a widowed queen: see Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European Eyes', *EHR*, 110 (1995), 832–52 (pp. 838–39).

and to mirror its extent may have been one reason Matilda was so generously endowed in England. In 1068 and whilst pregnant, Matilda was crowned in Westminster Abbey.³³ Her regalia were bequeathed to La Trinité, where she was to be buried.³⁴ She left England in 1069, but it appears from her attestation of royal diplomas that she made at least two other visits.³⁵ She was said to have presided over a plea of land, and there are indications of patronage to English abbeys.³⁶ Like her husband, therefore, Matilda had authority on both sides of the Channel. He was king and duke, she queen and duchess.³⁷ After their deaths the situation was to change.

Their three sons, all unmarried in 1087, struggled to secure England and Normandy. The eldest, Robert, duke of the Normans, married Sibyl, daughter of Geoffrey of Conversano on his journey back from the first crusade to Normandy.³⁸ Her wealth gave Robert the injection of funds needed to redeem the debt for Normandy he owed his brother.³⁹ She bore a son, William Clito, in 1103 but died shortly afterwards. Dark doings were suspected, for the chronicler Orderic Vitalis reported death by poison at the hands of a jealous rival.⁴⁰ She was buried in the

³³ For the coronation of English queens, see Stafford, *Queen Emma & Queen Edith*, pp. 162–68. For Matilda's coronation, see Laura Gathagan, 'The Trappings of Power: The Coronation of Mathilda of Flanders', *HSJ*, 13 (1999), 21–39. For royal acclamations of the king and queen, in Normandy as well as England, see Herbert Edward John Cowdrey, 'The Anglo-Norman Laudes Regiae', *Viator*, 12 (1981), 37–78, especially pp. 48–58.

³⁴ *Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la Reine Mathilde pour les abbayes Caennaises*, ed. by Lucien Musset (Caen: Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 1967), p. 112.

³⁵ *OV*, II, 222; Bates, *Regesta*, nos 232, 254 (Winchester, 1069, prior to her return to Normandy), 68 (Windsor, 27 May 1072), 193, 194 (London, 1081: 193 in February), 39 (Bury St Edmunds, 31 May 1081), 154 (Salisbury, 2 February 1081), and 253 (Downton, late 1082). This excludes attestations to diplomas of uncertain authenticity.

³⁶ *Historia ecclesie Abendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, ed. by John Hudson, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002–07), II (2002), 14–16. In England she was linked with the abbeys of Malmesbury and Selby, and with Wells: Bates, *Regesta*, nos 193 and 289; *Coucher Book of Selby*, ed. by Joseph T. Fowler and Charles Clement Hodges, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 10, 13 (Durham: printed for the Society by Thomas Caldcleugh, 1891–93), II (1893), 258, 279.

³⁷ For their styles, see Bates, *Regesta*, pp. 86–94.

³⁸ *OV*, v, 278–300; for discussion, see William M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (c. 1050–1134)* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 191–93, 212–15.

³⁹ *OV*, v, 26, 208 (stating that the loan was for five years); *GND*, II, 210 (stating that the loan was not time limited); for the marriage, see *OV*, v, 278–80.

⁴⁰ *OV*, VI, 36–39.

cathedral at Rouen, then thought to be the place of burial of Rollo and William Longsword. The obituary above her tomb celebrated her beauty and character, and also her power.⁴¹ Robert of Torigny, writing later, believed that she had acted as her husband's deputy whilst he was in England.⁴² Yet even if this had been the case, there was little time for her to do so. Following her death, almost fifty years were to pass before another woman formally used the title 'Duchess of Normandy'.

Henry I's first wife, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm of Scots and Margaret, always used the title 'queen of the English'. Her ancestry was a critical consideration in Henry's choice of a bride and of particular importance during the early insecure years of his rule. They were married at Westminster Abbey in November 1100, Archbishop Anselm performing the ceremonies of marriage and coronation.⁴³ She bore first a daughter, Matilda (the future Empress), and, in 1103, a son, William.⁴⁴ In 1104, when Henry went to Normandy for the first time since his coronation, Matilda remained behind. She seems to have presided over a regency council, a role she continued until her last illness and death, when her place was taken by her son.⁴⁵ She presided over what looks like one of the first meetings of the exchequer at Winchester, and she issued executive orders.⁴⁶ She was her mother's daughter: notably pious, she was responsible for the foundations of Holy Trinity Aldgate and Saint Giles, Holborn, one of the earliest leper houses in England.⁴⁷ During the later years of her life she lived at Westminster,⁴⁸ and it is clear that her building works helped to transform the landscape in and around London. She was said to have been responsible for the building of two or three bridges, plus a public bathhouse

⁴¹ *OV*, VI, 38–40.

⁴² *GND*, II, 222.

⁴³ Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 120–25; Lois L. Huneycutt, 'Matilda (1080–1118)', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18336>>.

⁴⁴ Winchester annals, *Annales monastici*, ed. by Henry R. Luard, 5 vols, Rolls Series, 36 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864–89), II, 43; *GR*, I, 415, 758.

⁴⁵ Francis J. West, *The Justiciarship in England 1066–1232* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 10–13; Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 78–85; Judith A. Green, *Henry I, King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 79, 136.

⁴⁶ *RRAN*, II, nos 1000, 993, and 1001. For discussion of these and other texts, see Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 88–93.

⁴⁷ Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 109, 105–06.

⁴⁸ *GR*, I, 754–56.

and latrine at Queenhithe.⁴⁹ Important though she was in England, her role, unlike that of her mother-in-law, was not paralleled in Normandy.

The younger Matilda visited Normandy in the months after Tinchebray, but subsequently returned to England and is not known to have crossed the Channel again.⁵⁰ There is no indication that she was ever formally presented to the Normans as their duchess, nor did she use the title in her charters, have any land or property there, or even, and this is perhaps most striking, make gifts to Norman religious houses.⁵¹ Her oval, single-sided seal, the first of an English queen to survive, depicts her standing crowned, wearing a long embroidered robe, with a sceptre topped by a dove, and in her left hand an orb, surmounted by a cross paty. The visible part of the legend refers only to her title as queen of the English.⁵²

Whilst it might be argued that her queenly title was used for preference as more distinguished than that of duchess, it should be noted that Henry too seems reluctant to have used the title duke, a title to which he evidently hoped his son William would succeed.⁵³ William was recognized as duke by King Louis VI of France only briefly before his death in the wreck of the White Ship in 1120, and it was after this that Henry seems to have taken up the title of duke.⁵⁴ Moreover, though Henry

⁴⁹ *VCH Essex*, VI, 44–45, 59–60; *VCH Surrey*, II, 72. *Munimenta Gildhallae Londonensis*, ed. by Henry T. Riley, 3 vols, Rolls Series, 12 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859–62), III, 445–49.

⁵⁰ *RRAN*, II, nos 808 and 809. The other alleged visit to Normandy is based on the place of issue of *RRAN*, II, no. 675. This was probably issued at York, not Évreux as William Farrer suggested, 'An Outline Itinerary of Henry I', first published *EHR*, 34 (1919), 302–82, 505–79, no. 104; cf. Hugh Doherty, 'La Bataille de Tinchebray et les Actes d'Henri I^{er}', in *Tinchebray 1106–2006: Actes du Colloque de Tinchebray (28–30 Septembre 2006)*, ed. by Véronique Gazeau and Judith Green, special issue, *Le Pays Bas Normand*, nos 271–72 (2009), 167–87 (pp. 181–82).

⁵¹ A charter of Henry I for the abbey of Savigny granted the vineyard of Avranches and the Queen's vineyard: Henri Chanteux, 'Recueil des actes d'Henri Beauclerc, duc de Normandie' (unpublished thesis for the diploma of archiviste paléographe, École des Chartes, 1932), no. 129; *RRAN*, II, no. 1016.

⁵² Durham, 1.2 Spec. 23*, online catalogue <<http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ead/dcd/dcdmseal.xml;query=seals#ER>> [accessed 25 March 2011].

⁵³ Judith A. Green, 'Le Gouvernement d'Henri I^{er} Beauclerc en Normandie', in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge: colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (4–7 octobre 2001)*, ed. by Pierre Bouet and Véronique Gazeau (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2003), pp. 61–73.

⁵⁴ For the dating of Henry's fourth seal, which included the title 'duke of the Normans', see Pierre Chaplais, 'The Seals and Original Charters of Henry I', *EHR*, 75 (1960), 260–75. For a reproduction of the fourth seal, see Walter De Gray Birch, 'The Great Seals of Henry I', *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, 29 (1873), 232–62, plate 10.

married a second time in 1121, Adeliza of Louvain, though queen, was not apparently given land or property in Normandy, nor did she use the ducal title.⁵⁵

Queen Matilda III, countess of Boulogne in her own right, was already married to Stephen at the time he became king.⁵⁶ According to Gervase of Canterbury she was crowned in March 1136, and wore her crown when she and Stephen were formally recrowned after Stephen's release from captivity in 1141.⁵⁷ Matilda, the granddaughter of Malcolm and Margaret, was another notable political figure in diplomatic negotiations and, during her husband's captivity, assumed leadership of his military forces. Yet her influence too was confined to England, and to her own county of Boulogne.⁵⁸ She accompanied her husband in 1137 on his sole visit to Normandy as king.⁵⁹ At Évreux she issued a charter for the Templars relating to Temple Cressing in England, and she styled herself as queen of the English.⁶⁰ It may also have been on this occasion that she and Stephen gave assistance to the building of the abbey church at Mortemer.⁶¹ There is no sign that she ever used the title

⁵⁵ It seems likely that negotiations for a second marriage were already advanced at the time of the shipwreck, as Adeliza had arrived in England by January 1121. She was young (and therefore would bear children, which she did, though not by Henry I) and a daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lower Lorraine, a prominent figure in imperial politics. She was therefore a descendant of Charlemagne. The political calculations behind the marriage have not perhaps been fully explored. Henry doubtless wished to strengthen ties with the imperial court, perhaps to protect his daughter's interests, perhaps because his father-in-law's lands marched with those of the Count of Flanders. Baldwin VII, an enemy of Henry I, died childless in 1118, having nominated Charles I as his successor: HH, pp. 464–66; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas, and Susie I. Tucker (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961) s.a. 1121; JW, III, 15; Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 290–93. It has been pointed out that Adeliza seems to have stayed close by her husband's side and is found in Normandy in 1125 and 1129–31: Laura Wertheimer, 'Adeliza of Louvain and Anglo-Norman Queenship', *HSJ*, 7 (1995), 101–15 (p. 103).

⁵⁶ Heather J. Tanner, 'Queenship: Office, Custom, or Ad Hoc?', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, ed. by Wheeler and Parsons, pp. 133–58; Marjorie Chibnall, 'Matilda [Matilda of Boulogne] queen of England', in *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18337>>.

⁵⁷ Gervase, I, 123.

⁵⁸ Heather Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England c. 879–1160* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), Appendix 1b, pp. 326–30: 'Matilda Anglorum Regina', for Bec, Clairmarais, and Mortemer.

⁵⁹ Robert Helmerichs, 'King Stephen's Norman Itinerary, 1137', *HSJ*, 5 (1993), 89–97.

⁶⁰ *RRAN*, III, no. 843.

⁶¹ J. Bouvet, 'Le Récit de la fondation de Mortemer', *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorium*, 22 (1960), 149–68 (p. 155).

‘duchess of the Normans’. Her oval seal shows her standing, crowned, with a fleur de lys in her right hand and a bird on her left, and the visible part of the legend reads ‘*Matildis dei gratia*’.⁶² Once again, therefore, we have a queen accompanying her husband to Normandy, but although he claimed the title duke of the Normans, she did not claim that of duchess.⁶³ Stephen persuaded King Louis to accept the homage for Normandy of his son Eustace, who was betrothed to Louis’s sister Constance.⁶⁴ No charters of Eustace and Constance as duke and duchess of the Normans survive, and within a few years, Normandy had passed into Angevin hands.⁶⁵

Although Empress Matilda was beaten to the English throne by the swift actions of Stephen, her career focused much more on Normandy than those of her namesakes, her mother and cousin, Stephen’s queen. In her charters, Matilda’s preferred style was ‘empress, daughter of the king’, whether the document was for an English or a Norman beneficiary.⁶⁶ Her seal was round, and unlike the earlier three Matildas, she was shown seated, not standing. She was crowned, with a sceptre in her right hand, and the legend reads ‘*S + Mathildis Dei Gratia Romanorum Regine*’.⁶⁷ There is a clear sense that the title of empress trumped that of queen or duchess, as well as avoiding the awkward fact that she had not been crowned queen. She did not use the title ‘duchess of the Normans’, though her husband used that of duke from 1144, possibly even from 1143.⁶⁸ He continued to do so until 1150, when he handed over power to their son, Henry, the future Henry II of England.⁶⁹ In her

⁶² Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, p. 203.

⁶³ For Stephen’s seals, which included the title ‘duke of the Normans’, see *RRAN*, III, pp. xv–xvii.

⁶⁴ *Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, ed. by Leopold Delisle, 2 vols (Rouen: A. Le Brument, 1872–73), I, 215.

⁶⁵ Bishop Nigel of Ely confirmed a grant of Countess Constance to the priory of Saint Radegund, Cambridge, in *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. XXXI: *Ely 1109–1197*, ed. by Nicholas Karn (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2005), no. 19, p. 35.

⁶⁶ Marjorie Chibnall, ‘The Charters of the Empress Matilda’, in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. by George Garnett and John Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 276–98 (p. 277).

⁶⁷ Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, p. 204.

⁶⁸ David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen 1135–54* (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), p. 195n.

⁶⁹ *Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, ed. by Delisle, I, 253; Charles Homer Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Harvard Historical Studies, 24 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 130 n. 26, suggests that this ceremony occurred between January and the end of March. Henry and his father still had to secure recognition from King Louis, whose father had recognized Eustace

later years Matilda issued charters either in her own name or jointly with her son. In these she was Empress and he was first 'son of the duke of the Normans and count of the Angevins' and, after 1150, 'duke of the Normans and count of the Angevins'.⁷⁰

In later life the Empress chose to live at Notre-Dame-du-Pré outside Rouen where there was a royal residence and a priory of Bec.⁷¹ Here she held court, an influential figure whose authority was recognized and utilized by her son.⁷² She possessed lands and revenues in Normandy which provided her with the means to reward her servants and endow religious houses.⁷³ She had a special affection for the abbey of Bec, where she was buried and to which she gave many precious objects.⁷⁴ She was also a patroness of houses of canons at Notre-Dame-du-Voeu near Cherbourg and Notre-Dame-de-Silly. Most importantly she promoted Cistercian houses in the duchy at Mortemer and Le Valasse (for men) and Bondeville (for women).⁷⁵ Twelfth-century Bec was an important centre of historical writing. It was a monk of Bec, Stephen of Rouen, who celebrated her in his poem, *Draco Normannicus*.⁷⁶ Through her permanent residence near Rouen, by her political influence and her religious patronage, she was a resident female authority figure of a kind absent from Normandy since the death of Matilda of Flanders.

Meanwhile, however, Henry's marriage to Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine in her own right and divorced queen of France, opened a new era for the Normans, as it did for the other territories under their control. Her changing status was reflected in successive seals. That which she used as Queen of France has not survived.⁷⁷ A new seal after her second marriage in 1152 described her as duchess of the Aquitanians and possibly (in the lost section of the seal) countess of the

in 1137. Suger seems to have been active as an intermediary, as was Saint Bernard, and Louis was finally persuaded to meet Henry at Paris, where he performed homage. Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, p. 154.

⁷⁰ *RRAN*, III, nos 90, 104, 180, 305, 306, 306a, 309, 310, 311, 653, 704, and 709.

⁷¹ Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, pp. 151–52.

⁷² Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, pp. 158–73.

⁷³ Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, pp. 60, 161, 179, and chap. 8 *passim*.

⁷⁴ Adolphe André Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec* (Évreux: C. Hérissey, 1902), I, 650–51; Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, pp. 189–90.

⁷⁵ *RRAN*, III, no. 168; Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, p. 180.

⁷⁶ *The 'Draco Normannicus' of Etienne de Rouen*, in Howlett, *CRSHR*, II, 596–601, 712–14.

⁷⁷ Brigitte Bedos Rezak, 'Women, Seals and Power in Medieval France, 1150–1350', in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 61–82 (p. 78 n. 100).

Poitevins.⁷⁸ Another attached to a document of 1153–54 identified her as duchess of the Aquitanians and of the Normans.⁷⁹ After her coronation the title of queen of the English was added to the legend.⁸⁰ The style adopted in her charters likewise reflected her changing circumstances. A full diplomatic study will have to wait for the publication of the charters, but what is significant in this context is that after her second marriage her titles included that of duchess of the Normans.⁸¹

There was once again a duke and a duchess of the Normans, and this can hardly be dissociated from a renewed interest in Norman history.⁸² Between 1158 and 1161 Henry and Eleanor spent Christmases in Normandy, and this must have encouraged those hoping for patronage.⁸³ Wace began a verse retelling of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* in which the stories about Gunnor, for instance, were further elaborated. In Wace's version Duke Richard I met her alone whilst he was hunting near Lyons-la-Forêt. He seduced her but then, as he was about to leave, she hurled him into a tree, and he was only freed with some difficulty.⁸⁴ Wace also painted a vivid picture of her wedding night when, the Duke having finally been persuaded to marry her, she cold-shouldered him. She told him that whereas before she had lain with him in his bed at his bidding, now she was in her own bed, a married woman, and since she was secure she could face him or turn her back.⁸⁵ Wace's version was written with a courtly audience in view, but his efforts did not please and he was dismissed by the King. Benoît of Saint-Maure took over, and in his still

⁷⁸ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, ed. by Wheeler and Parsons, pp. 1–54 (pp. 22–23).

⁷⁹ Brown, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered', pp. 23–24.

⁸⁰ Brown, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered', pp. 21, 24–26.

⁸¹ Her charters are being edited by Professor Nicholas Vincent. A preliminary survey was made by Henry G. Richardson, 'The Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine', *EHR*, 74 (1959), 193–213.

⁸² For Eleanor and Normandy, see Power, 'Stripping of a Queen', pp. 116–20; for Henry and Normandy, see Daniel Power, 'Henry, Duke of the Normans (1149/50–1189)', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 85–128.

⁸³ Christmas 1158 at Cherbourg, 1159 at Falaise, September 1160 at Rouen, September 1161 and Christmas 1161 at Cherbourg: Robert of Torigny, *Chronique*, ed. by L. Delisle, Société de l'Histoire de Normandie (Rouen: Le Brumant, 1872–73), I, 317, 326–27, 334, 342.

⁸⁴ Wace, I, 182–83, lines 561–610.

⁸⁵ Wace, I, 183–85, lines 611–50.

longer account the women in Norman history receive an even fuller treatment, notably Herleva, mother of William the Conqueror.⁸⁶

Memories of Gunnor were fostered by Robert of Torigny. Perhaps when he was still a monk at Bec, Robert was responsible for a recension of William of Jumièges's *Gesta Normannorum ducum*. He spelled out in detail the names of her sons and daughters, their marriages, and their descendants.⁸⁷ At one level his interest was that of a monk-historian concerned to record the history of illustrious Norman families. Yet in representing Gunnor almost as the mother of leading families of his own day, Robert may have had a specific interest, for Gunnor had a special place in the history of Mont-Saint-Michel.

Robert became abbot there in 1154, and sought to bring a new era of recovery and a harmonious relationship with the ruler of Normandy. In the past monks had been reluctant to accept the dukes' nominees as abbots, and more than one abbot had been removed.⁸⁸ A need to recover lost lands and rights prompted the drawing up of a cartulary, possibly begun under Robert's predecessor but continued by him.⁸⁹ This included four famous line drawings of key moments in the abbey's history: the vision of Saint Michael by the eighth-century Bishop Aubert of Avranches; the confirmation of the rights of the monks (including those over abbatial elections) by the pope, the king, and Richard I; the donation of Gunnor;

⁸⁶ Benoît de Saint-Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, II, 327–38. For discussion, see Penny Eley, 'History and Romance in the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*', *Medium Aevum*, 68 (2009), 81–89, arguing for an association between love and lineage. For Herleva, see p. 82; Peter Damian-Grint, 'En Nul Leu nel Truis Escrit: Research and Invention in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*', *ANS*, 21 (1998), 11–30 (pp. 24–25). Here the stress is on the author's access to oral information. Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Adaptation of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* by Wace and Benoît', in *Non Nova: mélanges de civilisation médiévale dédiés à Willem Noomen*, ed. by Martin Gosman and Jaap van Os (Gröningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984), pp. 115–21.

⁸⁷ Elisabeth van Houts, 'Robert of Torigny as Genealogist', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth, and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 224–25; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Aspects of Robert of Torigny's Genealogies Revised', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37 (1993), 21–27.

⁸⁸ Véronique Gazeau, *Normannia monastica (X^e–XII^e siècle)*, 2 vols (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2007), I, 47–50, 52–58; II, 197–217.

⁸⁹ See *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. by Keats-Rohan, pp. 11–13, for the suggestion that the cartulary was composed in 1149–50. For a facsimile, see *Cartulaire du Mont-Saint-Michel: facsimilé du manuscrit 210 de la Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches avec une introduction par Emmanuel Poulle et une traduction des textes littéraires par Pierre Bouet et Olivier Desbordes* (Mont-Saint-Michel: Les Amis du Mont-Saint-Michel, 2005).

and a further illustration with two images in an upper and lower register, thought to be of Duke Robert I, whose charter it precedes.⁹⁰ Gunnor thus still had a special place in the history of the abbey.

Between 1152 and 1170 Eleanor made several visits to the duchy, and she gave birth to her daughter Eleanor at Domfront in 1161.⁹¹ In 1170 she remained in Normandy whilst Henry crossed to England for the coronation of the Young King, and acted as regent during that period.⁹² She was with her husband at the Christmas feast at Bur-le-Roi in 1170 when the irate King's words resulted in four of his knights crossing to England and killing Becket.⁹³ Between 1152 and 1170 her presence in Normandy reflected the importance of the duchy, the sensitivity of dealings between Henry and Louis VII, and the duchy's location as a staging post between England and the southern territories. These were then the years when the possibility of ducal courts as a focus of political and social life was at its greatest. However, after 1170 there was a long interval before Eleanor's next recorded visits, for more than a decade of which she was in captivity. She was with Henry in Normandy between 1185 and 1186, and on at least four occasions after his death on behalf of her sons.⁹⁴ She also had dower assigned in the duchy, in the form of revenues from Falaise, Bonneville-sur-Touques, and Domfront.⁹⁵ Her written acts for the duchy seem mainly to have concerned her dower.⁹⁶ Thus she had a stake in

⁹⁰ The interpretation of the images in the last illustration at fol. 25^v is less obvious than the others. As it precedes the charter of Robert I, it is likely that he was the figure in the upper register. That in the lower register is crowned, which has led to the suggestion that it was William the Conqueror: *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. by Keats-Rohan, pp. 23–24.

⁹¹ Robert of Torigny, *Chronique*, I, 334.

⁹² *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Anne Duggan, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), II, nos 286 and 296–97; *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by James Craigie Robertson and Joseph B. Sheppard, 7 vols, Rolls Series, 67 (London: Longman, 1875–85), III, 103.

⁹³ Howden, *Chronica*, III, 14.

⁹⁴ 1190: Howden, *Gesta*, II, 105–06; Howden, *Chronica*, III, 32; 1191: Howden, *Gesta*, II, 235; Howden, *Chronica*, III, 179; 1194: Howden, *Chronica*, III, 251–52; 1198: Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 40–41; 1199, *CDF*, p. 391.

⁹⁵ *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*, ed. by Edmond Martène and Ursène Durand, 9 vols (Paris: Montalant, 1724–33), I, cols 995–97. For the inquest into her rights held after her death, see *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by John W. Baldwin (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1992), pp. 54–55.

⁹⁶ Power, 'Stripping of a Queen', p. 118.

the duchy, but with an eventful life and much more important interests in Aquitaine and England, her presence in Normandy was only intermittent.

The evidence discussed above relates both to representation and reality. For the first historians of the Normans, constructing a past in which ducal succession had to be presented as orderly and legitimate, discussion of wives and concubines had to be handled carefully.⁹⁷ William of Jumièges in particular distinguished between those who were wives by Christian marriage and those by 'Danish custom'.⁹⁸ Wives were described in stereotypical ways as beautiful and discreet. Gunnor especially was described as beautiful, 'the loveliest of all Norman women' according to Dudo, as well as 'skilled in the capacity for womanly artifice' (a possibly back-handed compliment).⁹⁹ In her case representation seems to have matched reality, for her importance is confirmed by her long life, her children, and her patronage of the Church in western Normandy. She continued to be celebrated as a mother and as a benefactress of Mont-Saint-Michel, and stories about her were reshaped by Wace for a twelfth-century audience.

Secondly, ducal Normandy provides further illustration of a theme of recent writing, that women's access to power was not one of a steady rise or decline but depended on personality and circumstances. After Gunnor, Matilda of Flanders was the next important figure, then the Empress and Eleanor of Aquitaine. It is a story of discontinuities.

Thirdly, the evidence for the period between 1066 and 1152 throws light on power within what has recently been aptly described as an Anglo-Norman 'consortium'.¹⁰⁰ After 1087 we have kings of the English, dukes of the Normans, kings who ruled Normandy, queens of the English, but only briefly a duchess of the Normans. Only in the time of William and Matilda was there a partnership of king/duke and queen/duchess. Although Matilda II and Matilda III had important roles in the governance of England, they had no strictly comparable roles in Normandy. The means by which power was exercised were thus different on different sides of the Channel.

⁹⁷ See in this context George Garnett, "Ducal" Succession in Early Normandy', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. by Garnett and Hudson, pp. 80–110; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*.

⁹⁸ *GND*, I, p. xxxviii.

⁹⁹ Dudo, pp. 289, 264–65.

¹⁰⁰ For the term 'consortium', see Pierre Bauduin, 'Les Modèles anglo-normands en questions', in *Nascita di un regno: Poteri signorili istituzioni feudali e strutture sociali nel Mezzogiorno normanno (1130–1194)*, Atti delle diciassettesime giornate normanno-sveve, Bari (10–13 ottobre, 2006), ed. by Raffaele Licinio and Francesco Violante (Bari: M. Adda, 2008), pp. 51–97 (pp. 79–90).

This leads to a final reflection. Much of the work on high-status women in the Middle Ages has tended to argue in favour of their influence and agency, if not (usually) power. If therefore a consort was potentially an important figure, her absence had repercussions for political and social life in the duchy. In Normandy after the deaths of William and Matilda, the Normans were in effect ruled by outsiders. Many Norman families had little stake in England or, after 1150, in Anjou or Aquitaine. Relations between rulers and ruled could not have been as close as they had been before 1066, and the presence of the ruler's court only intermittently can hardly have strengthened them. Particularly significant under Henry I was its royal rather than ducal character. Normans who presented themselves found a king who was the Conqueror's son, and his wives who were queens but were given no stake in the duchy. In a sense this was a missed opportunity. David Bates's paper 'The Rise and Fall of Normandy' traced the beginning of decline to the later eleventh century, and in that decline the channels of authority through which ducal authority worked need to be taken into account.¹⁰¹

The history of Normandy in the eleventh century was that of a powerful and cohesive principality, in the success of which the duchesses had played their part. At first it seemed that the consequences of the Conquest of England could be absorbed by the partnership of William and Matilda in which Matilda acted as her husband's deputy on either side of the Channel. However, dynastic conflict and the need to make arrangements for the security of England in the king's absence meant that the precedent they established did not outlive them. Thus there is a seeming paradox that whilst twelfth-century Norman chroniclers continued to celebrate the powerful duchesses of the past like Gunnor and Matilda, in reality their world had changed, a point to be remembered in assessing the Normans' political loyalties in the last decades of the twelfth century.

¹⁰¹ David Bates, 'The Rise and Fall of Normandy c. 911–1204', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Bates and Anne Curry (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 19–35.

BEING THE DUCAL SISTER: THE ROLE OF ADELAIDE OF AUMALE

Kathleen Thompson

The career of Adelaide of Aumale resembles nothing quite so much as an archaeological posthole: you can't see anything, but you know it must have been there. With the exception of Elisabeth van Houts's recent article, little has been written about William the Conqueror's sister since the researches of Thomas Stapleton in the nineteenth century, and for details we are forced back to the *Complete Peerage*.¹ It tells us that the Conqueror's sister married first Enguerrand, count of Ponthieu, then Lambert of Lens, by whom she was the mother of Earl Waltheof's wife, Countess Judith, and finally Odo of Champagne, by whom she was the mother of Stephen of Aumale (Figure 2). This is, by any standards, an eventful life, but like many other women she has been reduced, in Professor Stafford's words, to a 'genealogical marker'.² It is therefore perhaps

I would like to thank C. P. Lewis for his suggestion that work needed to be done on Countess Adelaide and for sharing his unpublished research on Countess Goda. A shorter version of this paper was first presented at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in July 2008.

¹ Thomas Stapleton, 'Observations on the History of Adeliza, Sister of William the Conqueror in a Letter to John Gage', *Archaeologia*, 26 (1835–36), 349–60, supplemented by his remarks in *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. by Thomas Stapleton, 2 vols (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1840–44), II, pp. xxix–xxx. See now Elisabeth van Houts, 'Les Femmes dans l'histoire du duché de Normandie', *Tabularia-Études*, 2 (2002), 19–34 (pp. 21–23). G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, new edn rev. by V. Gibbs, 13 vols in 14 (London: St Catherine Press, 1910–59), I, 351–52.

² Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma & Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 24.

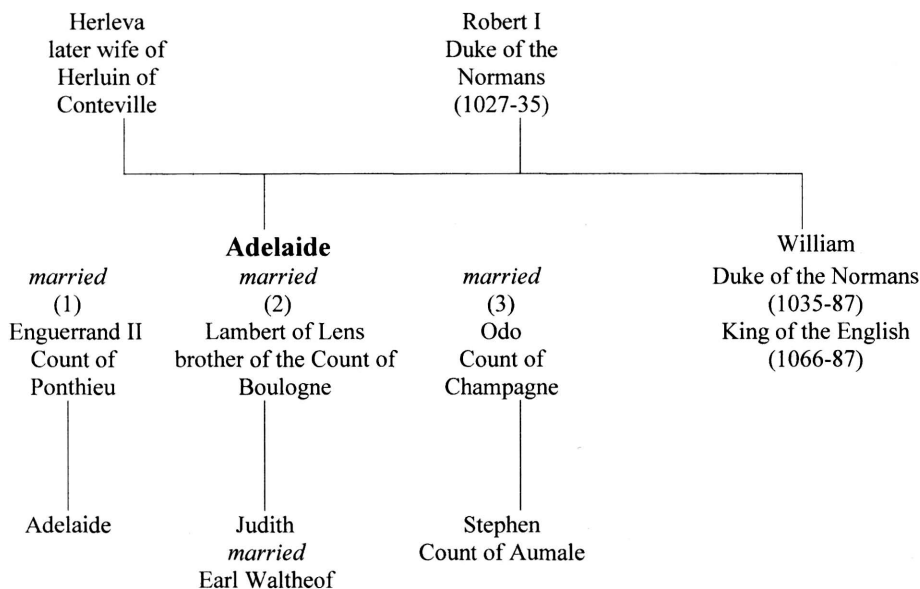


Figure 2. The immediate family of Adelaide of Aumale.

worthwhile re-examining not only what we know about Adelaide but also how we know it, and comparing her experience to that of other high-status women, who have been the subject of much research in the past twenty years.

Adelaide is conspicuously absent from contemporary narrative sources. She does not appear in the works of William of Poitiers or William of Jumièges. The *Brevis relatio* does not mention her, and neither does the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, which is a little surprising, given its concentration on the Ponthevin contribution to the Norman Conquest of England. The Hyde chronicle is also much interested in matters to the north-east of Normandy, but not in Adelaide, and the main Ponthevin source for the period, Hariulf's history of Saint-Riquier, also makes no reference to her. William of Malmesbury notes that King William gave his niece Judith in marriage to Waltheof, but does not explain how Judith came to be the King's niece.³

It is to Orderic Vitalis, therefore, that we must turn for a specific reference to the King's sister. He tells us that Duke Robert's daughter was married to Odo of

³ *GR*, I, 468: 'Iudithae neptis regis conubio priuataque amicitia donatus.' He also provides us with details of William's half brothers and the eventual marriage of the Conqueror's mother, but mentions no sister: *GR*, I, 506.

Champagne, but he gives her no name.⁴ Robert of Torigny, the source of much Anglo-Norman genealogy, reveals a little more. In his interpolations to the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* he indicates that the Conqueror's nephew, Stephen of Aumale, was his sister's son, and, when mentioning the Conqueror's niece, he even goes so far as to give King William's sister a title, the Countess of Aumale, but still no name.⁵ For that crucial detail, therefore, we must turn to non-narrative sources, namely two charters to Holy Trinity of Caen, a set of documents related to the collegiate church at Auchy, and a reference in the cartulary of the abbey of Le Tréport.⁶ In addition, Adelaide's English lands are described in Domesday Book, and a life of Earl Waltheof also has a bearing on events.⁷ So taken all together what can we glean of Adelaide's career?

We can only speculate about the date of Adelaide's birth. If she were the child of Duke Robert and a partner other than the Conqueror's mother, Herleva, then she might have been born from the mid-1020s until 1035. Robert of Torigny, however, declares her to be the uterine sister of William, so we might perhaps conclude that she shared both mother and father with the Conqueror, particularly since there is no reference to her as the daughter of Herleva's husband, Herluin of Conteville, and Herleva's daughter by Herluin did not make the same brilliant marriages as Adelaide. However Torigny wrote more than a century after Adelaide's birth, and the information he gives about her immediate descendants in the same passage is incorrect.⁸ The question therefore must remain open. If she were the Conqueror's full sister, however, Adelaide's birth is likely to have occurred between the summer of 1026 when her father, Robert, was sent to Lower Normandy and the date of her mother's marriage to Herluin of Conteville, which is generally taken to be no later than 1033.⁹

⁴ *OV*, II, 264: 'Odoni uero Campaniensi nepoti Tedbaldi comitis, qui sororem habebat eiusdem regis, filiam scilicet Rodberti ducis, dedit idem comitatum Hildernessae.'

⁵ *GND*, II, 206: 'Stephanus, comes de Albamarla filius Odonis comitis de Campania, Willelmi autem regis Anglorum senioris ex sorore nepos'; *GND* II, 270 for the Countess's title.

⁶ Bates, *Regesta*, nos 58 and 59; Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime 1H1, 1H13; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye du Tréport*, ed. by Pierre Laffleur de Kermaingant (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1880), no. III, p. 16.

⁷ DB, II, fols 91 and 430; 'Vita et passio Waldevi comitis', in *Chroniques anglo-normandes: recueil d'extraits et d'écrits relatifs à l'histoire de Normandie et d'Angleterre pendant les XI^e et XII^e siècles*, ed. by Francisque Michel (Rouen: Édouard Frère, 1836–40), II (1836), 99–120.

⁸ *GND*, II, 270: 'Habuit enim idem Walleuus tres filias ex uxore sua, filia comitis de Albamarla, que comitissa fuit soror uterina Willelmi regis Anglorum senioris.'

⁹ David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London: George Philip, 1989), pp. 21–22.

The choice of her name is significant; just as nearly a century later the English king Henry I would acknowledge his illegitimate children by giving them names from the ducal family's naming stock, so Duke Robert had acknowledged his.¹⁰ The son was called William, the name of Duke Robert's great-grandfather, who had led the Normans in the mid-tenth century, but not a name used for Norman dukes in nearly a hundred years. The name given to Duke Robert's daughter, with its Germanic element *Adel* meaning noble, had been used in the previous generation by Duke Richard II for his daughter, with whom the Conqueror's sister would later be linked, and William the Conqueror would also later call one of his own daughters Adeliza.¹¹

It is worth saying at this point however that this name is somewhat fluid. A charter dating from 1082 gives the Conqueror's sister the name *Adelissa* by implication, while acts given by her son and daughter give *Adelidis*.¹² The Adelaide-form, however, is that most favoured by modern commentators, such as David Douglas, David Bates, Pierre Bauduin, Michel de Boüard, and Elisabeth van Houts. They are perhaps influenced by nineteenth-century usage, popularized by the name of William IV's queen and perpetuated in an Australian city.¹³ Although both the Countess of Aumale's son and daughter named their own daughters Adeliza, the name Adelaide has become established through use for the Conqueror's sister and will be retained here.

We know nothing of Adelaide's upbringing. We might speculate that she lived with her mother, after Herleva became the wife of Herluin of Conteville, and was brought up with Herleva's second family — Odo, later to be Bishop of Bayeux, and

¹⁰ Kathleen Thompson, 'Affairs of State: The Illegitimate Children of Henry I', *JMedH*, 29 (2003), 129–51 (p. 137).

¹¹ Van Houts, 'Les Femmes', pp. 21–23. David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964), Appendix 3, pp. 391–95. Orderic records a *consobrina* of the Conqueror called Adelaide, who was the wife of Robert Giroie: *OV*, II, 28, 80. Marie-Thérèse Morlet, *Les Noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VI^e au XI^e siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 1968–85), I, 15.

¹² Bates, *Regesta*, no. 59, composed 1080 x 1082, describes a concession by the Conqueror's aunt and refers to his sister only by her initial, suggesting they shared a name: 'Adelissa amita mea annuente, cuius hereditas erat, sed et comitissa A de Albamarla concedente.' For the granddaughters, see *CDF*, no. 971; *OV*, VI, 54.

¹³ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 380; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 21–22; Pierre Bauduin, *La Première Normandie X^e–XI^e siècles: sur les frontières de la haute Normandie. Identité et construction d'une principauté* (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2004), pp. 313–16; Michel de Boüard, *Guillaume le Conquérant* (Paris: Fayard, 1984), p. 86; van Houts, 'Les Femmes'.

Robert, later to be Count of Mortain and Muriel — but it is equally possible that she remained in the ducal household. There were other young people in that household, including Guy of Burgundy.¹⁴ Morton and Munz, the editors of the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, suggested that Adelaide might have been intended as a wife for Edward the Confessor.¹⁵ This is, of course, speculation and perhaps rather unlikely, but it must have been clear that Adelaide would have to follow the traditional role of the ducal daughter and sister.

To be born female in the ducal house of Normandy in the tenth or eleventh century was to have your career mapped out for you. You were likely to be married off to the lord of a neighbouring principality, and in many cases these alliances were made when the women were ducal sisters (Figure 3). At the very beginning of the century Duke Richard II's sister, Emma, had crossed the Channel to marry Æthelred, the king of the English, and Hawise, her sister, became the Countess of Brittany.¹⁶ At least two Norman ladies went to Blois — Matilda, daughter of Richard II, and Adela, daughter of the Conqueror — while Duke Robert I's sister went to Flanders as the second wife of Count Baldwin IV.¹⁷ Sometimes they might go a little further afield: Duke William Longsword's sister, Gerloc, later known as Adela, went to Poitiers, while Adeliza, daughter of Duke Richard II, made her marriage in Burgundy.¹⁸ Even Adelaide's English cousin, Goda, had been pressed into service. With her name frenchified to Ita, Goda had become the wife of Dreux, count of the Vexin in the 1020s.¹⁹

It is no surprise therefore to find Adelaide's name linked with that of the Count of Ponthieu, Enguerrand II, who succeeded his father in November 1052.²⁰ Ponthieu was one of the smallish principalities that had emerged in the margins between

¹⁴ *GND*, II, 20.

¹⁵ *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy of Amiens*, ed. by Catherine Morton and Hope Munz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 68.

¹⁶ Stafford, *Queen Emma & Queen Edith*, p. 215; *GND*, II, 14.

¹⁷ *GND*, II, 22, 52.

¹⁸ For Gerloc, see Dudo of St-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. with introd. and notes by Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 69–70; for Adeliza, see *GND*, II, 28. It has also been suggested that Ainor, a daughter of Duke Richard II, married Geoffrey of Thouars in the 1020s: George Beech, 'The Participation of Aquitanians in the Conquest of England 1066–1100', *ANS*, 9 (1986), 1–24 (pp. 8–9).

¹⁹ *GR*, I, 356; *RADN*, no. 63.

²⁰ *Recueil des actes des Comtes de Ponthieu*, ed. by Clovis Brunel (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1930).

the power blocs of Normandy and Flanders.²¹ At its heart was the great Merovingian abbey of Saint-Riquier, and the advocates of that abbey had come to style themselves counts of Ponthieu. The three previous counts, Hugh, Enguerrand I, and Hugh II, become increasingly visible in sources for the eleventh century, as do their neighbours, the lords of Boulogne and Saint-Pol. The counts of Ponthieu controlled Abbeville on the Somme and Montreuil on the coast, and probably from the 1030s they held the castle at Aumale. A cordial relationship had existed between the rulers of Normandy and the abbey of Saint-Riquier, based on a shared interest in the early Bishop of Bayeux, Vigor, whose body lay at Saint-Riquier.²²

The date of Adelaide's despatch to Ponthieu is not known. Pierre Bauduin, who has made a special study of the frontier of upper Normandy, suggests that Duke William's uncle, William of Arques, had a hand in the match, because his own marriage to the sister of the Count of Ponthieu would have given him the contacts to do so.²³ Eleanor Searle, however, had an alternative suggestion. She proposed that Adelaide's marriage might have been made to counteract the influence of this same uncle, William of Arques, in Ponthieu.²⁴

William of Arques was the son of Duke Richard II of Normandy's second marriage, which was made after the death of his Breton wife, Judith, in 1017. His second duchess, Papia, was a member of a powerful dynasty with interests in upper Normandy.²⁵ There were two sons from this second marriage, William and Mauger, who were potential rivals to the descendants of the first marriage. After 1035, perhaps taking advantage of the minority of the young Duke William, his half-uncle William secured the county of Talou and built a great fortification at Arques (Seine-Maritime, arr. Dieppe), while Mauger became Archbishop of Rouen in 1037.²⁶ It

²¹ There is little modern scholarship on the history of Ponthieu beyond Brunel's edition of the comital acts. See *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy of Amiens*, ed. by Frank Barlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. xlii–xlv.

²² Samantha Kahn Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 74–83.

²³ Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 310.

²⁴ Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 324, n. 20.

²⁵ *OV*, III, 86; *GND*, II, 102.

²⁶ *GND*, II, 102; *OV*, III, 86. See also David Bates and Pierre Bauduin, 'Autour de l'année 1047: un acte de Guillaume, comte d'Arques pour Fécamp (18 juillet 1047)', in *De la part et d'autre de la Normandie médiévale: recueil d'études en hommage à François Neveux*, ed. by Pierre Bouet, Catherine Bougy, Bernard Garnier, and others, *Cahiers des Annales de Normandie*, 35 (Caen: Musée de Normandie, 2009), pp. 43–52.

may well be that the influence of the Count and his brother, the Archbishop, was more effective in upper Normandy than that of Duke William II, who exercised power from a base at Caen in lower Normandy. William of Poitiers hints at as much in his character sketch of the Count.

For a long time he had promoted many disturbances, endeavouring to increase his own lands against the might of his lord, whom he had attempted to bar from entry, not only to the castle of Arques, but to all the adjacent part of Normandy on this side of the river Seine.²⁷

For Duke William therefore the presence of his sister at the centre of Ponthevin power might well have been desirable. The visit of the Abbot of Saint-Riquier to the Norman court in October 1048 may even indicate the beginning of the marriage negotiations.²⁸ Abbot Gervin's primary purpose was to refute the Abbess of Montivilliers's claim to property at Equemauville (Calvados, cant. Honfleur) that Saint-Riquier had been given a generation before. He was successful but was obliged to make a relic donation to secure the continuing goodwill of the Duke, and it is not impossible that he took back to Ponthieu a proposal for a further donation, this time of a Norman bride for the Count of Ponthieu.²⁹

Our first certainty in Adelaide's biographical narrative comes not with the date of her marriage, however, but with the death of her husband, Enguerrand, in October 1053.³⁰ The background is the rebellion of her half-uncle, William of Arques, who withdrew from the siege that the young Duke was pursuing at Domfront to the south of Normandy without the appropriate formalities, and then defied his nephew.³¹ In order to support William of Arques, the King of France gathered forces, and Adelaide's husband, who was, according to William of Poitiers, 'noted for his nobility and bravery', joined those forces. He was killed in a skirmish at Saint-Aubin-sur-Scie on 25 October 1053.³²

Almost immediately, however, we are confronted by a second, more or less fixed point in Adelaide's life, the death of a second husband, Lambert of Lens, at the

²⁷ *WP*, p. 34.

²⁸ *RADN*, no. 115.

²⁹ Hariulf, *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, ed. by Ferdinand Lot, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, 17 (Paris: Picard, 1894), pp. 223–25 (liber IV, caput XIX).

³⁰ *GND*, II, 104.

³¹ *WP*, p. 34.

³² *WP*, pp. 40–41.

siege of Lille in July/August 1054.³³ Pierre Bauduin places this second marriage in the context of the capture of Adelaide's brother-in-law, the new Count of Ponthieu, Guy, at the battle of Mortemer. He suggests that, some three months into her widowhood and in the aftermath of the battle, Adelaide fled to Boulogne in the footsteps of her uncle, William of Arques, and his wife, who was Count Guy's sister. There she met and married Lambert, the younger brother of the Count of Boulogne, only to be widowed a second time within months.³⁴

The chronology seems scarcely credible: widowhood on 25 October 1053, followed by a second marriage to a husband who died at the latest ten months later and the birth of what can only have been a posthumous daughter, Judith. Our evidence is a thirteenth-century life of Waltheof, which tells us that Lambert of Lens was the father of Waltheof's wife, and some modern commentators have found it hard to accept; Morton and Munz cannot countenance it.³⁵ They firmly attribute Adelaide's second daughter to Enguerrand of Ponthieu, despite the fact that the child's name quite clearly links her to the Flandro-Boulonnais dynasty to which Lambert belonged, while a charter by Adelaide's other daughter, a younger Adelaide, specifically indicates that Judith was the daughter of the younger Adelaide's mother, but not her father.³⁶

The whole problem begins to recede, however, when we take into account the proceedings of the Council of Reims in 1049.³⁷ This Council, held early in the pontificate of the German pope Leo IX, was much concerned with the legitimacy

³³ 'Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium', ed. by Ludwig C. Bethmann, in *Chronica et gesta aevi salici*, ed. by Georg Pertz, MGH, Scriptores, 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), pp. 393–525 (p. 494).

³⁴ Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 313.

³⁵ 'Vita et passio Waldevi comitis', p. 112. This text has been little studied; see Timothy Bolton, 'Was the Family of Earl Siward and Earl Waltheof a Lost Line of the Ancestors of the Danish Royal Family?', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 51 (2007), 41–71; *Carmen de Hastingae*, ed. by Morton and Munz, p. 127.

³⁶ Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime 1H13: 'et cortina una que Judita comitissa domine supradicte filia dedit eidem ecclesie'.

³⁷ *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de France*, ed. by Martin Bouquet and others, 24 vols, new edition, ed. by Léopold Delisle (Paris: Imprimerie royale, then Palmé, 1840–1904), XI, 523; Anselme de Saint-Remy, *Histoire de la dédicace de Saint-Remy*, ed. by Jacques Houlier, in *La Champagne bénédictine: contribution à l'année saint Benoît (480–1980)*, Travaux de l'Académie Nationale de Reims, 160 (Reims: Académie nationale, 1981), pp. 179–297 (no. XXXIV); *Carmen de Hastingae*, ed. by Barlow, p. xlv.

of marriage and in particular marriage within the prohibited degrees.³⁸ This is the period when Duke William of Normandy's union with Matilda of Flanders was challenged, and the council also called into question the marriages of two other northern French princes: Eustace of Boulogne and Enguerrand of Ponthieu. The genealogical niceties that underlie these challenges are complex, but, if George Garnett is correct in making Hugh Capet's wife, Adelaide, the daughter of Count William of Poitou and Adela, the former Gerloc of Normandy, then our Adelaide and Enguerrand of Ponthieu shared a common ancestor in Rollo of Normandy.³⁹ The relationship was distant, but at a stage when the Church was anxious to make its point on these matters it was close enough. How then in the light of this piece of evidence might we reconsider Adelaide's career?

We should perhaps begin with the second marriage of her cousin, Goda, daughter of King Æthelred of England. After the death of her first husband, the count of the Vexin, in 1035, Goda had married Eustace, the eldest son of Eustace, count of Boulogne.⁴⁰ Countess Goda bore her new husband no surviving male heir, and by the late 1040s she must have been nearing forty years of age.⁴¹ It was now perhaps convenient to dissolve the marriage. The existence of a common ancestor in King Alfred of England allowed Eustace and Goda to part, and the researches of Dr Christopher Lewis suggest that from 1051 Countess Goda lived in her brother's kingdom, probably at Lambeth, close to his chosen residence of Westminster.⁴²

³⁸ Patrick Corbet, *Autour de Burchard de Worms: l'église allemande et les interdits de parenté IX^{ème}–XII^{ème} siècle* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Klostermann, 2001) traces the evolution of the ecclesiastical legislation on consanguinity. Hein H. Jongbloed, 'Wanburtich: Heinrichs II. Beteiligung an der Wahl von Kamba (1024)', *Deutsches Archiv*, 62 (2006), 1–63, explores the implications of consanguinity for the stability of marriages among the elite of the empire. I am indebted to Dr Julia Barrow for the latter reference.

³⁹ George Garnett, "'Ducal' Succession in Early Normandy', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. by George Garnett and John Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 80–110 (after p. 97).

⁴⁰ *GR*, I, 356.

⁴¹ Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970), pp. 307–08, puts the case for a possible daughter.

⁴² C. P. Lewis, personal communication, based on Goda's holdings in Domesday Book, in particular at Lambeth, DB, I, fol. 34. Using material from Rochester Cathedral priory's fourteenth-century *Registrum Temporalium*, Dr Lewis has deduced that Goda's property at Lambeth was subsequently given to Rochester. Rochester later asserted that it had the treasures of the Countess Goda in its possession, and it also had an interest in what it referred to as 'Countess Goda's former soke' in London, probably a survival of the nineteen burgesses recorded under Lambeth in Domesday.

While this dissolution may not have been too painful for the parties involved, the genealogical investigations must have thrown up other anomalies. Duke William's own marriage had been challenged, and with it his alliance with his wife's father, the Count of Flanders. It is likely that the Duke paid dearly to retain the alliance by founding the religious houses at Caen as penance for the marriage, but the genealogical investigations also undermined his sister's marriage and it was perhaps expendable. Adelaide and Enguerrand would then have separated around 1049/50.

Norman connections with Boulogne were weakened with Countess Goda's departure for England. At some point therefore after Adelaide's separation from Count Enguerrand, or even perhaps as part of the negotiations around it, Adelaide was deployed a second time. Her second husband was Lambert of Lens, the younger brother of Count Eustace, and thus the alliance between Normandy and Boulogne was resuscitated. It was a marriage that can have lasted at the most four years and produced only one surviving child, the daughter Judith. This reading of events does provide a more acceptable marital chronology for Adelaide, and it also makes Count Enguerrand's support of the rebellion against Duke William in 1053 more understandable. By that date Enguerrand was no longer the Duke's brother-in-law, but he did have reason to support Count William of Arques, for Count William was married to Count Enguerrand's sister.

Late in 1054, Adelaide found herself widowed with two daughters, and she appears to have taken up residence at Aumale, which may have been her dower from Count Enguerrand. It was not uncommon for women to be dowered with property that had come into the family by marriage or conquest, and Aumale had apparently been brought into the Ponthevin comital family when Count Hugh II had married Berthe, the daughter of the knight, Guerinfröid, who had built the castle there.⁴³ Alternatively, she may have been given Aumale as part of a settlement after the capture of her brother-in-law, Count Guy of Ponthieu, at Mortemer in February 1054; the return of the castle there to Norman hands could well have been a prize from the victory at Mortemer, and the Duke's widowed sister, who had Ponthevin connections, would have made an acceptable custodian for Aumale.

There she occupied herself with the collegiate church at nearby Auchy.⁴⁴ She presented gifts of liturgical vessels and vestments, and she persuaded Archbishop Maurilius of Rouen to undertake a ceremony of dedication. This life of semi-religious retirement and familial commemoration seems to have been expected for

⁴³ Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime 1H13.

⁴⁴ Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime 1H1, discussed by van Houts, 'Les Femmes'.

dowagers.⁴⁵ King Henry I's widow, Adeliza of Louvain, was to attempt something similar at Arundel and Reading in the late 1130s, while Countess Beatrix of Mortagne settled at Tiron, and a late medieval list of vestments and liturgical embroideries, prepared by Beatrix and her daughter, mirrors the activity that Adelaide apparently engaged in at Aumale.⁴⁶ It is perhaps significant that the foundation was not a nunnery, where Adelaide and her daughters might retire, but a collegiate church with a complement of secular clerks.

And indeed Adelaide's career was not over. Being the ducal sister required one further marital attachment, and so in the 1060s Adelaide became the wife of Odo, the son of Stephen, count of Meaux and Troyes. Adelaide probably shared in common with those other remarrying widows, Queen Emma, Queen Adeliza of Louvain, and the Empress Matilda, the fact that her last husband was younger than she was.⁴⁷ Odo had been too young to inherit his father's lands to the east of Paris when his father had died between 1045 and 1048, and he appears to have only taken control of his inheritance in the 1060s. Almost immediately he had fallen foul of his uncle, Count Theobald of Blois. Their conflict had lasted through the early 1060s, before Theobald gained the upper hand and Odo left for Normandy. Later English sources describe Odo as a younger son, who had fled to avoid a murder charge, but both Michel Bur and Kimberly LoPrete prefer a less dramatic and more plausible story. They suggest that, after his poor showing in Champagne, Odo looked for new opportunities in the Norman Conquest of England.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ 'Widowhood was an important stage in the female lifecycle, and it was conceived as extending the married state beyond death [...]. A widow in some ways continued her husband's personality': Stafford, *Queen Emma & Queen Edith*, p. 74.

⁴⁶ Kathleen Thompson, 'Queen Adeliza and the Lotharingian Connection', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 140 (2002), 57–64; Laura Wertheimer, 'Adeliza of Louvain and Anglo-Norman Queenship', *HSJ*, 7 (1995), 101–15, supplemented by Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075–1225* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 40–46. On Beatrix at Tiron, see Kathleen Thompson, 'The Other Saint Bernard: The "Troubled and Varied Career" of Bernard of Abbeville, Abbot of Tiron', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60 (2009), 1–16, and *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Trinité de Tiron*, ed. by Lucien Merlet (Chartres: Garnier, 1883), p. lvii.

⁴⁷ Stafford, *Queen Emma & Queen Edith*, p. 81; Wertheimer, 'Adeliza of Louvain'; Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 55.

⁴⁸ On later sources, see Barbara English, *The Lords of Holderness, 1086–1260: A Study in Feudal Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the University of Hull, 1979), p. 10; Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 299. For Odo, see Michel Bur, *La Formation du comté de Champagne v. 950–v. 1150* (Nancy: Université de Nancy II, 1977), pp. 208–11; Kimberley LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c.1067–1137)* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2007), pp. 48, 65–66.

Perhaps he did, but he appears not to have found them, or at least not to have found his reward in England, for the Domesday record mentions only the land holdings of his wife, the Countess of Aumale.⁴⁹ Odo, moreover, only made one appearance in any of the Conqueror's charters: in 1068 when he had subscribed an important act for the abbey of Troarn along with the rest of the ducal family.⁵⁰ It is possible that William deployed Odo to Aumale to keep what would today be described as a 'watching-brief' on Count Guy of Ponthieu, but it might not be stretching the truth to suggest that the Conqueror remained unimpressed with the man who became his third brother-in-law. It is interesting to note that William had not given one of his increasing number of daughters, nor indeed one of Adelaide's daughters, to Odo. The King perhaps kept his daughters and his niece, Judith, for marriages that were more useful than a match with a landless and luckless fugitive from Champagne. It is also interesting to note that Odo would have to wait until the reign of Adelaide's nephew, William Rufus, before he received his English lands in Holderness. When the Conqueror was faced with this embarrassingly high-status, but perhaps rather hopeless, young recruit, he looked again to his sister, a matrimonially expendable dowager. It may therefore have come as something of a surprise, given Adelaide's advancing age, that a son was born from the marriage and named after Odo's father, Stephen.

Adelaide lived on at least until the 1080s, when she was granted a life interest in the property at Le Homme in the Cotentin, which her by now aged Aunt Adeliza intended to give to the nunnery of Holy Trinity at Caen.⁵¹ Perhaps Adelaide recollected that this property belonged to the resources traditionally assigned to support the women of the ducal family and felt that she should hold it in recognition of her contribution to the family. Perhaps she intended eventually to retire to her sister-in-law's foundation in Caen, taking Le Homme with her.⁵² Adelaide's son, Stephen, was recognized as her heir for the lands around Aumale, since they jointly confirmed a benefaction to the abbey at Le Tréport, but this must have rankled with Adelaide's eldest daughter.⁵³ This younger Adelaide [II] was, after all, the daughter of Count Enguerrand and the granddaughter of the Berthe who had taken Aumale to the counts of Ponthieu in the 1030s.

⁴⁹ DB, II, fols 91 and 430.

⁵⁰ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 280.

⁵¹ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 59; van Houts, 'Les Femmes', pp. 21–23.

⁵² CDF, no. 971. Some of it seems, however, to have remained with her descendants, for her granddaughter, Adeliza, had interests there in the twelfth century.

⁵³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye du Tréport*, ed. by de Kermaingant, no. III, p. 16.

Adelaide the younger's position was perhaps a little ambiguous; at best she was the daughter of her mother's first union, a marriage that had been annulled on the grounds of consanguinity, leaving the offspring of that marriage of questionable legitimacy.⁵⁴ At worst her parentage may have been in doubt; there may have been so little time between her mother's first two unions that the identity of her father was unclear, and this may have been the reason why it was her younger half-sister, Judith, who was called upon to perform the important political function of bringing Earl Waltheof into the ducal family. In being younger and therefore more likely to be fertile, Adelaide II ought, in the 1060s, to have been a more appropriate match than her mother for Odo of Champagne, yet she was not chosen. Even the choice of the younger Adelaide's name hints at an unusual status, for she was given her mother's name, proclaiming her links with the Norman dynasty, rather than a name from Enguerrand's family, such as that of his mother, Berthe. At this point, in the context of Adelaide II, we may recall Eleanor Searle's telling phrase for the daughter of William Longsword's wife, the 'politically sterile' Emma, who was to have 'no marriage to match her status'.⁵⁵

All this may be the background to a curious letter sent by Bishop Ivo of Chartres to William the Conqueror's daughter, Countess Adela of Blois, and given a probable date by Kimberly LoPrete of 1091.⁵⁶ In it the Bishop agrees to the Countess's request to intervene in the case of her cousin ('consobrinam vestram Adalaidem'), who has been involved in an illicit relationship with William of Breteuil, the son of William fitz Osbern. We know nothing more of the matter, but it does hint at an ambivalent career for Adela's cousin. Disregarded in the marriage market, Adelaide II may well have formed a relationship with a young man of her own age and social circle. It may have been a long-lasting relationship, and she was perhaps the mother of William's high-profile illegitimate children, Eustace of Breteuil and Isabel, the wife of Ascelin Goel. When the ecclesiastical authorities sought to put a stop to the relationship, this much passed-over person strove to preserve it by enlisting the support of her influential cousin, the Countess of Blois.

These family tensions are the context for Elisabeth van Houts's suggestion that Adelaide II controlled Aumale during her brother's absence on the first crusade.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ It has recently been asserted that a challenge to the legitimacy of his wife may have undermined the case of Count Liudolf, a grandson of Emperor Otto II, who was one of the claimants to the imperial title in 1024: Jongbloed, 'Wanburtich', p. 50.

⁵⁵ Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, p. 94.

⁵⁶ LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, p. 402, no. 37.

⁵⁷ Van Houts, 'Les Femmes', pp. 25–26.

Such an approach would be mirrored some years later by Count Rotrou of Mortagne's reliance on his sister, Juliana, during his absences in Spain.⁵⁸ The evidence for the use of a sister at Aumale is taken from the archives of the community at Auchy, where two versions of a narrative foundation charter appear to have been preserved.⁵⁹ The first relates the foundation of the community by Guerinfröid and an instruction that it should be recorded in writing, given by the 'most noble countess' Adelaide, sister of William, king of the English, which was confirmed by her husband, Odo, and son, Stephen.⁶⁰ The second version makes no mention of Odo and Stephen, but attributes the instruction to Count Enguerrand, who is described as the son of Berthe, daughter of the founder, Guerinfröid, while the countess Adelaide, sister of William, king of the English, is relegated to a supporting role as Enguerrand's wife.⁶¹ It goes on to narrate that, after the death of her husband, Enguerrand, the Countess embellished the church and increased its endowment.

This second version is explicitly attributed to Adelaide II, 'the Countess Adelaide, daughter of the aforementioned Enguerrand and the aforementioned Adelaide, who after their death succeeded to power (*in imperio*)'. There is nothing here that we know to be untrue, but there is some chronological elision. Adelaide II may, as Elisabeth van Houts suggests, have administered Aumale during her brother's absence, but she cannot have succeeded her parents at Aumale immediately as the act implies, for we know her brother was active there in the early 1090s, when he and his father accepted a garrison of Rufus's men at Aumale.⁶² There is no need to question whether Adelaide I embellished the church at Auchy after her husband Enguerrand's death, but the outcome of the Council of Reims means that it is unlikely that he was her husband when he died. This second version of the foundation act was a brave attempt on the younger Adelaide's part to rewrite history, in which she alludes to her father's support for Auchy in terms which implied that her mother's first marriage had ended in widowhood rather than annulment. It was a rewriting which, until the researches of Pierre Bauduin and Elisabeth van Houts, broadly succeeded. It is this revised chronology, involving a twice-widowed

⁵⁸ Kathleen Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship: The County of the Perche, c. 1066–1217* (Woodbridge: Boydell for the Royal Historical Society, 2002), p. 74.

⁵⁹ Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime 1H1 and 1H13, described in Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 299, n. 86, and discussed by van Houts, 'Les Femmes'.

⁶⁰ Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime 1H1.

⁶¹ Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime 1H13.

⁶² For a consideration of Stephen's career, see English, *Lords of Holderness, 1086–1280*, pp. 12, 14–16.

Countess of Aumale and intended, it is suggested here, to provide greater legitimacy for Adelaide II's birth, which has prevailed ever since Thomas Stapleton printed Adelaide II's act in his study of the ducal sister.

In being the ducal sister, then, the elder Adelaide of Aumale demonstrated the way that female members of the elite contributed to their families' political strategies. She was the archetypal female item of gift exchange and was used to seal alliances three times over. Of course, this begs the question of whether the marital career of the ducal sister was willingly undertaken. Was a passive Adelaide traded in a series of alliances in which her value was clearly understood by the trading partners? And indeed was Adelaide traded because the value of her eldest daughter was questionable? This is very much the archetypal gendered role. Might it not, however, have been possible for Adelaide to play an active part? Might she have seen herself making a positive contribution to the political strategies of her family? It must at least be conceivable she willingly made the matches.

Although Adelaide has virtually been written out of history and into the footnotes, there are occasional hints that her place in the family power structure was so apparent that there was no need for contemporaries to comment on it. Contemporaries never refer to her by name because her title was well known — she was the Countess of Aumale and probably second only to the Conqueror's wife herself. Adelaide's English lands, so conspicuously recorded as hers rather than her husband's, were probably recognition of her position as the Duke's sister. She was, after all, one of only a handful of Norman noblewomen who were English tenants-in-chief in 1086. Another member of this small group was, of course, her daughter, Judith, who was allowed to retain significant portions of Earl Waltheof's lands after his death, and that too may be a sign of the confidence that the Conqueror placed in the ducal sister and niece. We might also wonder whether the Countess of Aumale was an active player with a role that went beyond the marital alliances required of all ducal sisters. Did she travel to her English estates, at least one of which is conveniently located on the Essex coast? If her sister-in-law remained in Normandy after 1066 as the Conqueror's trusted agent, who performed that important role at William's English court that modern research has assigned to medieval queens? These are questions that it is easier to pose than to answer.

HENRY I AND THE BATTLE OF THE TWO KINGS: BRÉMULE, 1119

Matthew Strickland

On 20 August, 1119, at Brémule in the Norman Vexin, the armies of Henry I, king of England and duke of Normandy, and of Louis VI of France met in pitched battle. ‘There’, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* succinctly put it, ‘the king of France was routed and all his best men captured’.¹ It was a stunning victory; over one hundred French and rebel Norman knights were taken prisoner.² Louis himself fled so precipitously that, finding himself lost and alone in a wood, he needed the help of a local peasant to guide him to the safety of Andely. Only the peasant’s failure to recognize him saved the French king from betrayal and capture.³ For Henry I the engagement was of critical importance, ending a highly dangerous period marked by damaging attacks on the duchy by external enemies and widespread rebellion within Normandy in support of his nephew, William Clito.⁴ Now, in the wake of the ignominious defeat of Louis and Clito at Brémule,

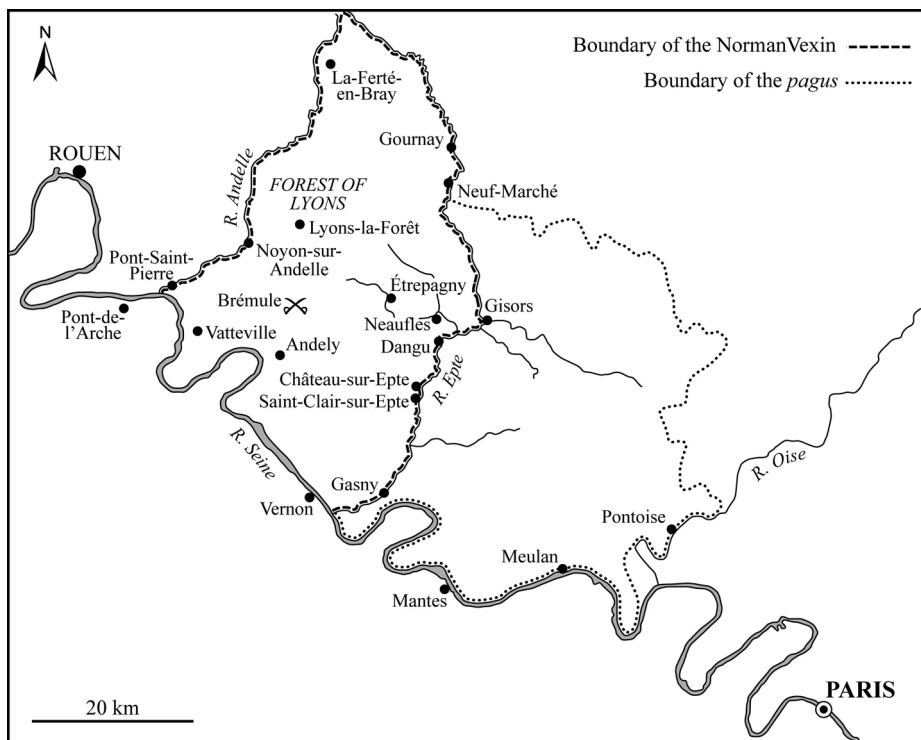
This paper has greatly benefited from discussions with a number of colleagues and friends, who have been most generous with their expertise. Here I would particularly like to thank Elisabeth van Houts, Kathleen Thompson, John Gillingham, Stephen Marritt, and Matthew Bennett.

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Edition*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas, and Susie I. Tucker (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965), *s.a.* 1119.

² *OV*, vi, 238 and 242, puts the number of captured knights at 140, while the Hyde chronicle gives it as 114 (*Chronica monasterii de Hida juxta Wintoniam*, in *Liber monasterii de Hyda*, ed. by Edward Edwards, Rolls Series, 45 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866), p. 318).

³ *OV*, vi, 240–41.

⁴ C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 234–76; Judith A. Green, *Henry I, King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 138–50.



Map 2. The Vexin and the Norman Border, 1119. Drawn by Mike Shand.

many of the King Henry's men came back to him and those who had used their castles against him made agreement with him'.⁵ The following year, Louis made peace and was forced to accept the homage of Henry's son William Aetheling for Normandy, the offer of which the French king had rejected in 1115. Henry's control of the duchy seemed finally secure, and his son's succession to it recognized. It was for good reason that in the eyes of Henry of Huntingdon, Henry's victory at Brémule made him 'invictissimus', a 'rex regum victor et dominator'.⁶

Henry's triumph was remembered long after his death, and in his grandson's reign, memories of it appear to have acquired a renewed resonance. John of Salisbury could note of Henry I in his *Policraticus*, completed in 1159 and dedicated to

⁵ ASC, s.a. 1119.

⁶ HH, p. 502. To the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, his editor has remarked, 'the victory of Henry I over the king of France was an event of major historical significance, fit to be compared with the conquest of England in 1066 and to be celebrated in hexameters' (HH, p. 463, n. 180).

Henry II's chancellor, Thomas Becket: 'But how he crushed and put to flight the King of the Franks in a heated battle I intentionally fail to mention, lest the repetition of well-known events becomes tedious, because his victory is often mentioned and many witnesses exist in both kingdoms who were present at the battle.'⁷ Nevertheless, the battle's powerful reverberations within the Anglo-Norman world have found only a faint echo in more modern historiography.⁸ The battle has been studied primarily, though not exclusively,⁹ for its tactical interest, and then as but one of a series of engagements in the Anglo-Norman period in which a key role was played by dismounted knights, usually supported by cavalry, archers, or other infantry.¹⁰ The brevity of the engagement, moreover, and a marked lack of fatalities has led to the characterization of Brémule as a mere skirmish, more analogous to a tournament than a major battle.¹¹ Tinchebray was clearly decisive, securing

⁷ *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici, sive De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, ed. by Clement C. J. Webb, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), II, 48 (VI. 18); John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, ed. and trans. by Carl J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 118–19.

⁸ Thus, for example, although Luchaire observed in his classic study of Louis VI that 'la défaite des Français à Brémule, si peu sanglante qu'elle ait été, fut décisive', the engagement itself did not detain him further: Achille Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros: Annales de sa vie et de son règne (1081–1137)* (Paris, 1890; repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1964), p. cxvi. Ferdinand Lot declined even to mention the battle in his major survey *L'Art militaire et les armées au Moyen Âge*, 2 vols (Paris: Payot, 1946), in which he devoted less than five pages to French armies from Hugh Capet to Louis VII. The battle is briefly discussed in *Histoire militaire de la France*, vol. I: *Dès origines à 1715*, ed. by Philippe Contamine (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992), p. 55. Its fuller political contextualization has had to await the appearance of two major biographies of Henry I and one of Louis VI; Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 263–65; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 150–53; and Eric Bournazel, *Louis VI* (Paris: Fayard, 2007), pp. 145–48.

⁹ Thus, for example, its significance for an examination of developing chivalric ideology has recently been highlighted in a fine new study by Dominique Barthélemy, *La Chevalerie: de la Germanie antique à la France du XII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2007), pp. 214–29.

¹⁰ Charles W. C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (London: Methuen, 1924), I, 380–81; Jim Bradbury, 'Battles in England and Normandy, 1066–1154', *ANS*, 6 (1983), 1–12, and repr. in *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, ed. by Matthew Strickland (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 182–93 (pp. 189–90), where he pointed out the importance of the description of the battle by the Hyde chronicle; Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1985), pp. 46–48, with a sketch of the battle's location and troop dispositions at p. 46; Stephen Morillo, *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings, 1066–1135* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 171–73.

¹¹ Oman, *A History of the Art of War*, I, 381, dismissed Brémule as 'simple and short', and thus insignificant; 'it hardly deserves, indeed, to be called a skirmish. It lasted only a few minutes'

Henry I's conquest of Normandy and condemning Duke Robert to a life of captivity.¹² Yet the political and strategic gains of Brémule were undone at a stroke by the wreck of the White Ship in November 1120, leaving the engagement to be easily passed over as but one moment, dramatic yet fleeting, in a long and exhausting series of wars that plagued Henry's rule of the duchy.

By contrast, this paper seeks to reassess the significance of Brémule, using the engagement as a prism through which to explore the nature of warfare and of battle in early twelfth-century Normandy. For Brémule was a remarkable engagement in a number of important respects, and its distinctive features suggest a range of key themes which form the basis of my approach. First, it was one of the rare occasions since the Conquest in which a King of England had joined in a major set-piece battle with a King of France. Indeed, with the possible exception of William the Conqueror's defeat at Dol in 1076, it may even have been *the* first, and certainly the conflict's peculiar quality was captured by Orderic Vitalis's description of it as 'the battle of the two kings (*duorum certamen regum*)'.¹³ There were, moreover, no attempts to avert or delay the clash of arms through parley, mediation, or challenges to a wager of battle by champions, as so frequently occurred when major armies confronted each other in this theatre of war. Instead, battle was aggressively sought

(p. 385). While not underestimating the significance of the battle, Dr Chibnall notes that 'the battle seems to have been fought almost entirely between knights, and to have had the character of a great tournament' (*OV*, VI, 240 n. 1, and cf. p. xxii).

¹² For Tinchebray, see Charles W. David, *Robert Curthose* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), pp. 172–76 and Appendix F, pp. 245–48; Bradbury, 'Battles in England and Normandy', pp. 187–88; William M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (c. 1050–1134)* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 241–42; and the important new volume *Tinchebray 1106–2006: Actes du Colloque de Tinchebray (28–30 Septembre 2006)*, ed. by Véronique Gazeau and Judith Green, special issue, *Le Pays Bas Normand*, nos 271–72 (2009). This volume was published just as this paper was being completed. I am most grateful to Dr Kathleen Thompson for making sections of this volume available to me.

¹³ *OV*, VI, 240. In 1076 William the Conqueror suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of King Philip I at the siege of Dol. The nature of the engagement, however, is not clear: perhaps William was attacked by surprise or as he withdrew, either by the garrison or the French relief army, but a set-piece battle is not suggested by notice of the *ASC*, s.a. 1076 that 'the Bretons held it [Dol] until the king came from France, and then King William went away and lost there both men and horses and incalculable treasure'. As David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London: George Philip, 1989), p. 158, notes, 'the sources do not tell us how the normally resourceful William was so badly out-generalled', and the nature of the action is equally impossible to recover. For the context and significance of William's defeat at Dol, see David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964), pp. 233–34.

by one side and accepted by the other. It is therefore instructive to examine the context of Brémule in the light of the ongoing debate concerning the extent to which medieval commanders did or did not pursue a 'Vegetian' strategy of avoiding pitched battle.¹⁴ If major battle was such a rare occurrence, what circumstances led Henry I and Louis VI to commit their forces to so uncertain and risky a confrontation?

Secondly, conduct in the battle itself highlights a significant paradox: despite the determination to give battle and the high stakes involved, casualties among the nobility were markedly small, with Orderic noting that of about nine hundred knights who were engaged, only three were killed.¹⁵ Such restraint, moreover, further contrasts with the serious attempt by a dissident Norman noble, William Crispin, to kill King Henry himself in the later stages of the fighting. Such discrepancies invite a study of the battle in a broader cultural and social context, not least in the light of Richard Abels's recent perceptive exploration of the distinctions, but also the complex possible interplay between a 'culturalist' and a 'scientific' or Clausewitzian approach to the study of medieval warfare.¹⁶ These two approaches, as Abels is the first to acknowledge, are not necessarily exclusive; to argue that concepts of knightly conduct and chivalric conventions could, in certain circumstances, profoundly affect the behaviour in warfare of the aristocratic elite is not to deny or downplay the significance of logistics, tactics, military technology, intelligence gathering, and other essential dimensions of the practice of war. Brémule was won by Henry I because of the employment of more effective tactics, better discipline, and better generalship; his carefully deployed formations of dismounted knights and densely packed infantry first absorbed the shock of the ill-organized French cavalry attacks, then overwhelmed them.¹⁷

Yet as I shall argue, the fact that the battle was fought within the context of widespread rebellion in Normandy and against the King of France and dissident

¹⁴ For recent discussion, see Clifford J. Rogers, 'The Vegetian "Science of Warfare" in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 1 (2002), 1–19; Stephen Morillo, 'Battle Seeking: The Contexts and Limits of Vegetian Strategy', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 1 (2002), 21–42; and the rejoinder by John Gillingham, 'Up with Orthodoxy! In Defense of Vegetian Warfare', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 2 (2003), 149–58.

¹⁵ *OV*, vi, 240–41.

¹⁶ Richard Abels, 'Cultural Representation and the Practice of War in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 6 (2006), 1–31 (pp. 1–2).

¹⁷ In tactical terms, Brémule afforded an excellent demonstration of how, as Oman noted, 'disorderly charges of cavalry, unaided by either infantry or archers, avail nothing against a solid mass of well-armed knights on foot' (Oman, *A History of the Art of War*, 1, 385).

Norman lords headed by William Clito — opponents yet members of the same Franco-Norman military elite — demonstrably affected the nature of the fighting itself, as well as conduct in its aftermath; casualties were minimal, because troops endeavoured to capture not kill their opponents, while Henry followed up his victory by freeing many of those who were vassals of both kings.¹⁸ This was not a slaughter such as Courtrai, 1302, Crécy, 1346, or Agincourt, 1415, but rather was in the mould of Geoffrey Martel's near bloodless victory over the Count of Blois at Nouy in 1044.¹⁹ Indeed, in concluding with an examination of the battle's twelfth-century *nachleben*, I shall suggest that it was precisely this absence of fatalities which allowed Anglo-Norman and Angevin writers to celebrate Brémule as a triumph, free — so unlike Hastings — from the taint of the slaughter of fellow Christians.

In a volume honouring a scholar who has done so much to further our understanding of the duchy of Normandy and its relationship to the kingdom acquired by its dukes, it seems appropriate to explore these issues further through the case study of a battle which was not only fought to defend Normandy at a time of acute crisis, but which was long remembered not only as a great triumph for Henry I, but also as a great victory of the Normans over the French. 'Laurels and eternal praise crown the Normans', proclaimed Henry of Huntingdon, 'as they gained mastery of fame and spoils.'²⁰

The Sources

The extant sources for Brémule are richer than for many engagements of the period and emanate from both sides of the conflict. Orderic's narrative is particularly well informed, for Noyon-sur-Andelle, from whence Henry I had advanced to battle and where he spent the night of his victory, was the site of one of Saint-Évroul's priories, while the knights of Maule, notable benefactors of Saint-Évroul, had been in the French host, giving Orderic access to accounts from both sides.²¹ Henry of

¹⁸ *OV*, vi, 240–41; and cf. Dominique Barthélemy, 'La Chevalerie, avant et après Tinchebray', in *Tinchebray 1106–2006*, ed. by Gazeau and Green, pp. 11–20.

¹⁹ Barthélemy, *La Chevalerie*, p. 223, and pp. 160–66 for Nouy and a valuable discussion of the nature of battle among the territorial princes.

²⁰ *HH*, pp. 464–65.

²¹ *OV*, vi, p. xxii, and p. 236 and n. 11, where he notes the participation of Peter II of Maule in the French army. For the cell of Noyon, cf. *OV*, vi, 146–49. Book XII, containing the account of the campaign of 1119, was probably written between 1135 and 1137 (*OV*, vi, pp. xviii, 380, n. 5).

Huntingdon's narration of the battle is considerably shorter and more self-consciously literary.²² Nevertheless, his poem on Brémule is the only piece of Latin verse devoted to a battle to survive from the period 1066–1135 other than those relating to Hastings,²³ and may well have been intended for presentation to the King himself, as part of the Archdeacon's efforts between 1118 and 1122 to establish himself as the principal Latin poet of the court.²⁴ Huntingdon, moreover, had close connections to Richard, Henry I's natural son, who together with Robert of Gloucester commanded part of the royal army at Brémule, and who may have been one of his chief informants.²⁵ Similarly, Suger's account in his *Life of Louis VI*, though written in the early 1140s, doubtless drew on the recollections of Louis VI himself, 'our dearest friend and lord', as well as other leading French nobles involved in the conflict.²⁶

The most detailed account of the course of the battle, however, comes from the text traditionally known as the Hyde chronicle, but which, as Elisabeth van Houts has demonstrated, is rather an extended *pièce justificatif* for the Warenne family.²⁷

²² As Diana Greenway points out, the use of 'two short sentences in the present tense, suggest verse' while in his account of Tinchebray, Huntingdon quotes from the *Aeneid*, viii. 2 (HH, p. 465 n. 182, p. 454).

²³ Elisabeth van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court, 1066–1135: The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *JMedH*, 15 (1989), 39–62 (p. 53).

²⁴ John Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon in his Time (1135) and Place (between Lincoln and the Royal Court)', in *The Gallus Anonymous and his Chronicle in the Context of 12th Century Historiography*, ed. by Krzysztof Stopka (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci, forthcoming). My thanks are due to John Gillingham for very kindly sending me this paper prior to its publication.

²⁵ Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon'. Richard, like Huntingdon, had been brought up in the household of Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln (HH, pp. 594–95). It may thus be no coincidence that, although Huntingdon mentions only Henry I by name, he ascribes the final rout of the French to a charge by his sons' division (HH, pp. 464–65).

²⁶ Suger, *Vie de Louis le Gros*, ed. by Henri Waquet (Paris: Société d'édition 'Les belles lettres', 1964), pp. 196–99; Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. by Richard C. Cusimano and John Moorehead (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1992), pp. 115–18; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of St Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, MA: Classical Folia Editions, 1978), p. 48, n. 3.

²⁷ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, pp. 316–18; Elisabeth van Houts, 'The Warenne View of the Past, 1066–1203', *ANS*, 26 (2003), 103–21 (pp. 110–11). This analysis is greatly expanded in the introduction to a new edition and translation of this text, renamed the Warenne chronicle, currently being prepared by Dr van Houts for the Oxford Medieval Texts series. I am most grateful to her for very generously sending me the typescript of her new edition. I have followed the pagination of the Rolls Series in the notes for this paper.

Probably composed between 1157 and 1159 by Master Eustace of Boulogne as part of an attempt to challenge Henry II's confiscation in 1157 of lands granted to William IV de Warenne, King Stephen's son, by the Treaty of Winchester, this work makes the battle of Brémule one of its main climaxes. It emphasizes the crucial role which William II de Warenne (d. 1138) had played both in the combat itself and, as importantly, in allaying Henry I's fears beforehand about the trustworthiness of his men by a rousing affirmation of the loyalty of himself and his kinsmen to the King.²⁸

The significance of battle narratives in shaping and reshaping collective or dynastic memory has been increasingly recognized, while the reworking of key victories to reflect current political concerns is particularly noticeable during Henry II's reign. Thus Matthew Bennett has shown how Wace's depiction of Hastings was shaped to include families prominent at Henry II's court, while Richard Barton has demonstrated that, while the account of Fulk V's victory over Henry I at Alençon in 1118 in *Gesta consulum Andegavorum* contains much that is fictitious, it reveals 'a message concerning proper lordship relations to the audience of the period 1155–1173'.²⁹ The Warenne chronicle's account of Brémule provides a further example, though here the potential political value of memory of a recent ancestor's participation in a great victory was deployed on behalf of a noble then in dispute with the king, to remind him of the family's past services in war. The work's original form is unknown, but the only surviving manuscript breaks off shortly after its account of Brémule, ending with the wreck of the White Ship.³⁰ As Elisabeth van Houts has argued, its compiler knew Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History*, and seems to have also drawn on William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon,

²⁸ Van Houts, 'Warenne View of the Past', pp. 110–11; *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, pp. 316–18.

²⁹ Matthew Bennett, 'Poetry as History? The Roman de Rou of Wace as a Source for the Norman Conquest', *ANS*, 5 (1982), 21–29 (pp. 29–32); Richard Barton, 'Writing Warfare, Lordship and History: The *Gesta Consulum Andegavorum*'s Account of the Battle of Alençon', *ANS*, 27 (2004), 32–51.

³⁰ Van Houts, 'Warenne View of the Past', p. 111. Not only did 1120 mark a natural break, but a glance at the military activities of William's son, William III Warenne (d. 1148), strongly suggests why the compiler may have stopped soon after. William III consistently served Stephen, and, though he tarnished his reputation by precipitous flight from Stephen's army during the battle of Lincoln, he went on to capture Robert of Gloucester at Stockbridge, later in 1141. For his career, see Victoria Chandler, 'Warenne, William (III) de, Third Earl of Surrey (c.1119–1148)', *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28738>>.

and Robert of Torigny's version of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*.³¹ Regrettably, it is impossible to judge how far its account of the battle was informed by the latter work, as Torigny's own account of Brémule has been lost and is known only from a chapter heading.³² Nevertheless, much of the Warenne chronicle's account of Brémule appears to be independent, and it is possible that it drew on oral tradition from members of the Warenne family themselves.³³

The Place of Brémule in Anglo-French Warfare

Brémule was not only perhaps the first battle to take place in the open field between the kings of France and England in the Anglo-Norman period, but it was also one of the very few major engagements to be joined by Anglo-Norman and Angevin rulers with their Capetian counterparts.³⁴ If battle itself was a rare phenomenon in the warfare of northern France in the twelfth century, the overwhelming majority of such battles in the Anglo-Norman realm were fought in the context of civil war or rebellion — for example, Tinchebray, 1106, Bourghtheroulde, 1124, Lincoln, 1141, Winchester, 1141, Stockbridge, 1141, and Fornham, 1173 — where the need decisively to defeat a dynastic rival or his supporters might outweigh the risks of engagement, as they were again to do in the English civil wars of the fifteenth century. Anglo-Norman or Angevin armies faced down their

³¹ Van Houts, 'Warenne View of the Past', p. 110. The text's probable sources are discussed in detail in the introduction of *Warenne Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, *passim*.

³² *GND*, II, 234 and n. 3.

³³ A possible source of information was through the family of Edward II of Salisbury, whom Orderic (vi, 236–37) notes carried the royal standard in the battle, as Ala de Warenne, widow of William III de Warenne married Patrick, earl of Salisbury (*Warenne Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by van Houts, n. 141). A more direct source, however, would have been through William of Blois's wife Isabel, who was the granddaughter of William II de Warenne, or through the latter's second son, Reginald de Warenne, who appears frequently at Henry II's court during the 1150s. I am grateful to Professor David Crouch for this point.

³⁴ C. Warren Hollister, 'Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman Regnum', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. by Henry Mayr-Harting and Robert I. Moore (London: Hambledon, 1985), pp. 303–16, and repr. in Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London: Hambledon, 1986), pp. 273–90; Marjorie Chibnall, 'Anglo-French Relations in Orderic Vitalis', in *Documenting the Past: Essays in Medieval History Presented to George Peddy Cuttino*, ed. by Jeffrey S. Hamilton and Patricia Bradley (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), pp. 5–19.

Capetian counterparts on a number of occasions, yet very rarely was battle actually joined. Thus, for instance, Suger makes much of a challenge to combat made by Louis VI's forces to those of Henry I at Neaufles-Saint-Martin near Gisors in 1109, but Henry steadfastly refused battle as much as he did the French king's demands for homage and the surrender of Gisors.³⁵ At Verneuil in 1173 and Rouen, 1174, Louis VII chose to beat a precipitous retreat when challenged to battle by Henry II, while similarly, Philip Augustus attempted secretly to withdraw when at Fréteval in 1194 Richard I issued him with a formal challenge to battle.³⁶ When armies did clash, it was often the result of the enemy's rearguard being overwhelmed by a pursuing force, as at Fréteval, or of an ambush, as at Courcelles in 1198, when Richard's surprise attack routed Philip's army while on the march.³⁷ On other occasions, usually arising from the context of a siege, such as at Châteauroux in 1187 or Gisors in 1188, when Henry's army squared off against that of Philip Augustus, imminent battle was always pre-empted by peace negotiations or the stalling device of proposing the judicial duel to settle rival claims; and the invariable result was a truce.³⁸

The reasons for this striking phenomenon were partly military, partly cultural. In military terms, there was a basic parity between the Capetians and their Anglo-Norman and Angevin rivals. If military resources directly available to the Capetians grew under Philip II, both Louis VI and Louis VII had been able in their day to forge formidable coalitions. Arms and armour were near identical, and neither side enjoyed a radical tactical advantage. Though Anglo-Norman tactics made highly effective use of dismounted knights supported by archers, infantry, or units of cavalry, the victory of Fulk V over Henry I's forces at Alençon in 1118 clearly showed that such deployment was not a monopoly of Anglo-Norman armies.³⁹ Conversely, dismounted knights and infantry could be routed by cavalry, as

³⁵ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, pp. 103–11; Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 222–23.

³⁶ Howden, *Gesta*, I, 51–55, 74–76; II, 255–56; Howden, *Chronica*, III, 255–56. For Henry's challenges at Verneuil and Rouen, see W. Lewis Warren, *Henry II* (London: Methuen, 1973), pp. 127–28 and 136; John D. Hosler, *Henry II: A Medieval Soldier at War*, *History of Warfare*, 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 204–05 and 217; and for Fréteval, John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 288.

³⁷ Howden, *Gesta*, I, 256; Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 55–59.

³⁸ Howden, *Gesta*, II, 6–7, 46–47; *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Anthony J. Holden and David Crouch, trans. by Stewart Gregory, 3 vols, Anglo-Norman Text Society, Occasional Publications Series, 4–6 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002–07), I, 374–76, lines 7365–7408.

³⁹ Bradbury, 'Battles in England and Normandy', pp. 188–89; Bradbury, *Medieval Archer*, pp. 44–45; Barton, 'Writing Warfare, Lordship and History', pp. 32–35.

occurred, for example, at Tinchebray in 1106, and as Louis VI had found to his cost at the siege of Le Puiset in 1112, knights on foot were particularly vulnerable to such charges if their formations became disordered.⁴⁰ At Brémule, Louis was doubtless unwise to launch a cavalry attack unsupported by infantry against Henry I's powerful defensive formations, but the French defeat was in large part due to the hasty and disorganized charge of the French, as Abbot Suger freely admitted.⁴¹ There was thus a major difference between warfare in northern France in the twelfth century and that prevailing under Edward III in the first stages of the Hundred Years War, where French armies were repeatedly unable to find an effective tactical response to the combination of dismounted men-at-arms, supported by large units of archers, drawn up in naturally strong defensive positions.⁴²

The other crucial difference was that Edward III was prepared to unleash the full force of his longbowmen not just against the mounts of the French knights, but against their riders as well. At Crécy in 1346, the combination of massed archery and Edward's prohibition of taking prisoners for ransom meant that the battle was marked by 'extraordinarily heavy casualties'.⁴³ Little wonder that according to the Saint Omer chronicle, those German allies in Edward's army remonstrated, though in vain, with the King against the killing of so many nobles; 'Sire, we are astonished that you allow so much noble blood to be spilt. If you took them for ransom, you would achieve much of your war aims, and would have a very large ransom.'⁴⁴ By contrast at Bourthéroulde in 1124, the commanders of Henry I's *familia regis* had ordered their archers to only shoot the horses of the charging rebel knights led by Waleran of Meulan.⁴⁵ It is possible that similar tactics were employed at Brémule, for Orderic noted that the horses of the attacking French were 'quickly killed'.⁴⁶ It has been observed in regard to such orders that horses made an easier target, and in the first half of the twelfth century they were probably not protected by any

⁴⁰ *OV*, VI, 88–91; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, pp. 158–61.

⁴¹ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 196; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 117.

⁴² Matthew Strickland and Robert Hardy, *The Great Warbow: From Hastings to the Mary Rose* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005), pp. 218–38.

⁴³ Andrew Ayton, 'The Battle of Crécy: Context and Significance', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. by Andrew Ayton and Sir Philip Preston (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 1–34 (p. 19).

⁴⁴ Michael C. Prestwich, 'The Battle of Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. by Ayton and Preston, pp. 139–58 (p. 151), citing the Saint Omer chronicle (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 693), fols 262^v–263^r.

⁴⁵ *GND*, II, 234–35; *OV*, VI, 350–51.

⁴⁶ *OV*, VI, pp. xxi, 238–39.

form of defensive armour.⁴⁷ Perhaps so, but that Bourghéroulde was emphatically not a Crécy in microcosm had much less to do with uncertainty over the aim of the archers or the penetrative power of their weapons than with a deliberate choice to capture, not kill, their opponents. For at Bourghéroulde, as at Brémule where the stakes were far higher, the context of the engagement and the nature of the enemy, not technical determinism, were the crucial factors in regulating the extent of killing among the nobility.

Here we must set our analysis of Brémule in the context of the deeply rooted reluctance of Anglo-Norman and Capetian armies to join full-scale battle, which remained a striking phenomenon throughout the twelfth century. When, on 23 June 1187, the armies of Philip Augustus and Henry II drew up for a *bellum campestre* outside Châteauroux ‘in loco competendi et praelecto’, they were prevented from battle by their lay and ecclesiastical magnates. Instead, on their nobles’ advice, they made a truce for two years, and the armies separated ‘praising God who had restored peace to them’.⁴⁸ As John Gillingham has noted of the stand-off in 1187:

The armies arrayed in the fields outside Châteauroux contained many nobles who knew each other well, who had met at tournaments or on pilgrimages, who were cousins or neighbours. Even if, for once, the kings had not been bluffing when they drew up their armies, these men were reluctant to attack each other.⁴⁹

Even though by the later eleventh century the undertaking of penance for killing in battle against fellow Christians had disappeared, there remained a profound sense of unease at the prospect of killing men regarded very much as members of a shared military aristocracy. In describing the subsequent confrontation between Philip and Henry II at Gisors in 1188, even after both kings had taken the cross, the *History of William Marshal* noted that ‘they had taken such offence, as a result of foolish advice and bad counsel, that the outcome, wherever wrong lay, was that each side should be allowed to do its damndest’. But then ‘a very wise knight’ stepped forward and rebuked the two monarchs: ‘My lords, why should they die, all these people assembled here, when they are aggrieved by the situation and not one of them has done wrong in the matter? Your pride will be the unjust cause of their death.’⁵⁰ Once again, a pitched battle was averted by magnate intervention.

⁴⁷ *OV*, VI, p. xxi.

⁴⁸ Howden, *Gesta*, II, 6–7. The prelates present doubtless reminded them of the recent papal mandate by which Urban III had threatened both kings with excommunication unless they quickly established peace between themselves.

⁴⁹ Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 83.

⁵⁰ *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Holden, I, 374–76, lines 7385–96.

These considerations were still more acutely felt in the context of Brémule, where a number of prominent lords from eastern Normandy had joined Louis's army in support of William Clito.⁵¹ As Orderic noted, 'This was indeed more than a civil war, and ties of blood bound together brothers, friends and kinsmen who were fighting on both sides, so that neither wished to harm the other'.⁵² It was such sentiments that lay behind Orderic's desire to depict the battle of Brémule as nearly bloodless: 'I have been told that in the battle of the two kings, in which about nine hundred knights were engaged, only three were killed'.⁵³ One might suspect that Orderic deliberately downplayed the death toll, but his remark closely accords with the very small number of knightly casualties recorded at Tinchebray.⁵⁴ The annals of Winchester noted that at Brémule, 'less than a hundred' were killed, a figure which probably reflects non-noble casualties and the fact that the densely packed infantry of Henry's third division played a crucial role in the battle and may have borne the brunt of the close fighting.⁵⁵ Whatever the real death toll may have been, Brémule was clearly a far cry from such bloody encounters as the bitter Carolingian civil strife at Fontenoy, 842, Fulk Nerra's defeat of Conan I of Rennes at

⁵¹ For the wider context of their disaffection and the problem of divided loyalties on the Vexin border, see Judith A. Green, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. by John Gillingham and James C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984), pp. 47–61; and Judith A. Green, 'Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy', in *La 'France anglaise' au Moyen Âge: Actes du IIIe Congrès des Sociétés Savantes* (Paris: Éditions de CTHS, 1988), pp. 161–73.

⁵² *OV*, VI, 200–01.

⁵³ *OV*, VI, 240–41.

⁵⁴ Torigny (*GND*, II, 222–23) noted that in this 'bloodless victory (*victoria incruenta*)', Henry lost none of his men, while some sixty fell among Robert's forces. The Warenne chronicle may well be drawing on Torigny in calling Tinchebray a 'victoria pene sine sanguine' (*Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 307). By contrast, *OV*, VI, 90, notes that 225 of Robert's foot soldiers were slain in the first charge of Count Helias's cavalry, though Henry I himself told Anselm that a great number of infantry had been taken captive (Eadmer, *HN*, p. 184).

⁵⁵ *Annales de Wintonia*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. by Henry R. Luard, 5 vols, Rolls Series, 36 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864–69), II, 45. The brief notice of Brémule is not found in MS 'A' of the annals (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 339), covering 1066–1139 which may have been the work of Richard of Devizes, but only in the fuller 'B' text (BL, MS Cotton Domitian A XIII), and its source is unknown. On the annals, see John T. Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 36 (1963), 70–77; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, 2 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974–82), I, 252 and n. 47.

Conquereuil in 992, or Hastings, 1066, all of which were followed by public provision of penance for the great loss of life they had involved.⁵⁶

William of Malmesbury, noting how in the campaigns preceding the battle Henry I had come under increasing pressure from his knights to attack Louis VI, devoted a lengthy and rhetorical passage to Henry's desire to avoid the reckless shedding of blood of his own men, 'the foster-children of my affection'; it is his virtuous moderation as a wise king that refrains from allowing them to prove their loyalty by the ultimate sacrifice, until he is left with no choice but to fight.⁵⁷ Orderic, by contrast, stressed the seemly restraint with which the battle itself was fought, with the combatants motivated only by right intent, in line with Augustine's teachings on just war:

They were all clad in mail, and spared each other on both sides, out of fear of God and fellowship in arms (*notitia contubernii*); they were more concerned to capture than kill the fugitives. As Christian soldiers, they did not thirst for the blood of their brothers, but rejoiced in a just victory given by God for the good of Holy Church and the peace of the faithful.⁵⁸

Despite the high number of captured French knights, Orderic here deliberately makes no mention of ransom as a powerful incentive to clemency.⁵⁹ Rather, in excusing a battle fought between Christian kings, his stress was on the justice of Henry's cause; because his was a defensive engagement to secure peace and protect the Church from the depredations of rebellious Norman lords and their French allies, God granted Henry the victory in this trial by battle.

In discussing the paucity of pitched battles, we must also note the possible impact of the status of the King of France as the overlord of the dukes of Normandy. The attitude of the dukes of Normandy, then from 1066 of the English king-dukes,

⁵⁶ For killing and its limitations, see in particular the important discussion in John Gillingham, 'Fontenoy and After: Pursuing Enemies to Death in France between the Ninth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, ed. by Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 242–65.

⁵⁷ *GR*, I, 732–35.

⁵⁸ *OV*, VI, 240–41. Cf. Barthélemy, *La Chevalerie*, p. 222, who notes that here Orderic fuses his own Christian sentiments with acute observation of 'la sociologie de la guerre féodale ordinaire, entre chevaliers'. Similarly, speaking of the 1105–06 campaign in Normandy, Malmesbury stressed that it was 'the war without bloodshed' (*incruente bello*) (*GR*, I, 722–23).

⁵⁹ Matthew J. Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 183–203.

to the Capetians was complex and often ambiguous,⁶⁰ and the relationship between ties of suzerainty, bonds of homage, and the actual prosecution of war in the context of Anglo-French warfare is a subject that requires more extensive study than is possible here. It is significant, however, that Duke William had shown himself reluctant to attack his overlord in person; he did not take part in the battle of Mortemer in 1054, while the engagement at Varaville in 1057 was an attack by the Normans only on that part of the French army separated from the main force by the rising tidal waters of the Dives.⁶¹ Douglas, moreover, remarked on how the battle of Varaville made far less impression on contemporary writers than Mortemer and was overlooked by many Anglo-Norman writers: 'it is not until the time of Wace that the full Norman tradition of a great victory is developed'.⁶² Malmesbury was conscious of William's restraint when he explained why, c. 1117–18, Henry I had been reluctant to give battle to Louis VI: 'Henry, with his father's example in mind, thought this empty-headed Frenchman better given time to exhaust himself than driven off by force.'⁶³ But in contrast to his father, Henry I, like his brother William Rufus, had never performed homage to Louis, and this may in part explain the readiness of the two armies to actually join in combat at Brémule.⁶⁴

The importance of Henry's untrammelled status is emphasized in Huntingdon's poem on Henry's victory, in which 'a greater king has overcome the great King Louis in the field of Noyon', a triumph which confirms Henry as 'king and ornament of kings (*regum rex et decus*)'.⁶⁵ William Aetheling was similarly free of any constraints imposed by French overlordship, for Louis had refused his offer of homage for Normandy in 1114 and would only come to accept it in the peace settlement that resulted from the King of France's defeat.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, it is

⁶⁰ Hollister, 'Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman Regnum', pp. 273–90; Chibnall, 'Anglo-French Relations in Orderic Vitalis', pp. 5–19.

⁶¹ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 72; David Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (London: Longman, 1982), pp. 75–77.

⁶² Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 73.

⁶³ *GR*, I, 732–33.

⁶⁴ Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (London: Methuen, 1983), p. 367. Rufus never, however, fought against the French king (or seemingly any other opponent) in a major engagement in the open field.

⁶⁵ HH, pp. 464–65.

⁶⁶ John Gillingham, 'Doing Homage to the King of France', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 63–84 (p. 68).

striking that in the pre-battle speech given by the Warenne chronicle to William II de Warenne, the Earl justifies taking up arms against the King of France: 'although the king of France is our lord by right of ancient overlordship (*antiquae dominationis jure*), yet we should boldly advance against him, with all fear put aside, because he unjustly attacks us and refuses to restore the rights unjustly taken from us'.⁶⁷ Given the probable date and intended audience of this text, such sentiments may have struck a more profound note with Henry II than with his grandfather. For, although as John Gillingham has argued, Henry II probably did not perform homage to Louis VII in 1156 as has long been supposed, he had already performed homage for Normandy in 1151, and in 1159 he had refused to attack Louis VII when the latter had unexpectedly entered the besieged city of Toulouse.⁶⁸ As a result of what William fitz Stephen called such 'foolish scruples and respect for the king of France', Henry thus lost a great strategic prize, despite the advice of Thomas Becket, his then chancellor, who 'argued to the contrary that the French king had forfeited his position of overlord by engaging in hostilities against the English king in defiance of existing treaties'.⁶⁹

Foolish or not, such scruples may have helped shape the strategy and prosecution of war.⁷⁰ For while border raids, sieges, and skirmishes were commonplace, major expeditions by Anglo-Norman or Angevin rulers into Capetian territory were comparatively rare. The Conqueror's brutal attack on Mantes in 1087, during which he was fatally injured, was in response to a French incursion from its garrison.⁷¹ Of all the Anglo-Norman kings, Rufus perhaps pursued the most aggressive policy towards his Capetian opponent during his campaigns of 1097–98 and

⁶⁷ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 316.

⁶⁸ Gillingham, 'Doing Homage', pp. 63–84.

⁶⁹ William FitzStephen, *Vita Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by James C. Robertson and Joseph B. Sheppard, 7 vols, Rolls Series, 67 (London: Longman, 1875–85), III, 33; Jane Martindale, 'An Unfinished Business': Angevin Politics and the Siege of Toulouse, 1159', *ANS*, 23 (2000), 115–54.

⁷⁰ For a more general discussion of this theme, see Matthew Strickland, 'Against the Lord's Anointed: Aspects of Warfare and Baronial Rebellion in England and Normandy, 1075–1265', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. by George Garnett and John Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 56–79.

⁷¹ *OV*, IV, 74. Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 357–58, notes, however, that given his great resources William 'might conceivably have followed up his success with far reaching consequences to the French monarchy'; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, p. 179.

of 1098–99, in which he aimed at the conquest of the French Vexin and threatened Paris to the extent that some contemporaries believed him to have had designs on the throne of France itself.⁷² But despite the construction of the great castle of Gisors, even Rufus was unable to penetrate the defensive line of castles such as Chaumont beyond the frontier of the Epte, with their highly resilient garrisons, or those south of the Seine like Neauphle-le-Château or Montfort l'Amaury, guarding the south-western approaches to Paris.⁷³ Henry I himself launched a number of raids into France and undoubtedly probed for weak points on this frontier; he was probably complicit, for example, in the *coup de main* by which the castellan of La Roche Guyon was murdered and replaced by his pro-Norman brother-in-law.⁷⁴ But there seem to have been no concerted campaigns of conquest against the Île de France, and the attack by Robert, count of Meulan, on Paris in 1111, known only from the later chronicle of Philippe Mouskes, seems to have been very much a personal affair, launched in retaliation for Louis VI's earlier devastation of the Count's lands.⁷⁵ During Lent 1119, strong winds caused the Seine to fall to exceptionally low levels, so that men could cross on foot. 'Paris saw this, and rightly trembled', noted Orderic, but Henry I would not or could not exploit such a potentially disastrous occurrence.⁷⁶

Whatever the case on the western and southern borders of the duchy, or subsequently on the frontiers of Aquitaine, the policy of Anglo-Norman and Angevin king-dukes towards the Île de France remained essentially one of containment and punitive counter-raid, not that of aggressive conquest. Those direct confrontations between rulers, moreover, usually took place either *en marche* — on the frontiers of the duchy — or within the confines of the king-duke's lands, even if, as with the

⁷² Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 10; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 27: 'It was commonly said that this proud and headstrong king aspired to the throne of the French'; Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 376–81, 393–96.

⁷³ Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 393–96; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 118–20.

⁷⁴ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, pp. 112–23. The Warrenne chronicle noted that in 1119, Louis's attack which culminated in the battle of Brémule was provoked by a raid by Henry I against Chaumont (*Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 316).

⁷⁵ *Chronique Rimée de Philippe Mouskes*, ed. by Frédéric-Auguste-Ferdinand-Thomas de Reiffenberg, 2 vols (Brussels: Hayez, 1836–38), II, 232; Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros*, no. 110; Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Paris au temps d'Abelard', in *Abelard et son temps: actes du colloque internationale organisé à l'occasion du 9e centenaire de la naissance de Pierre Abelard, 14–19 mai 1979*, ed. by Jean Jolivet (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981), pp. 21–77 (p. 41); Green, *Henry I*, pp. 122–23.

⁷⁶ *OV*, VI, 226–27.

Norman Vexin and later Berry, these were areas of rule disputed by the French. When Henry II challenged Louis VII to battle at Verneuil in 1173, or sallied out of Rouen in 1174 to attack the camp of Louis's besieging army, he was fighting a war of defence within the confines of his own duchy.⁷⁷ So too at Brémule, Henry I would fight a defensive engagement to safeguard the *patria* and expel its invaders. The question, nonetheless, remains: if battle between the kings of England and France was such a rare occurrence, why on this occasion, in August 1119, did Henry chose not to withdraw, but to stand his ground and fight against Louis VI?

Prudence or Cowardice? The Political Necessity of Battle

The years 1117–19 marked the greatest crisis in Henry's reign.⁷⁸ He faced an aggressive coalition of Baldwin VII, count of Flanders, Fulk V, count of Anjou, and Louis VI. From 1115 the King had actively thrown his support behind William Clito, whose father still languished in Henry's captivity, and these allies launched repeated raids of growing intensity into Normandy.⁷⁹ The serious wounding of Count Baldwin in 1118, and his death the following year, had removed some of the pressure on north-east Normandy, but Henry was facing widespread defection by Norman nobles, including the betrayal of Evreux to Amaury de Montfort and of Alençon to Count Fulk V of Anjou. The heavy defeat inflicted by Fulk on Henry at Alençon in December 1118 only served to increase the tide of desertions and the intensity of Capetian raids. Louis's markedly aggressive campaigns were intimately linked to his close personal association with the Vexin, with which he had been enfeoffed by his father Philip I in 1092 as an appanage, and as soon as he became king, he began to demand the return of Gisors from Henry I.⁸⁰ Possibly as early as 1116, Louis had succeeded in establishing a bridgehead at Gasny on the Norman side of the river Epte, the traditional boundary between the Norman and French Vexin.⁸¹ Henry had attempted to contain the raids of the garrison of Gasny by constructing

⁷⁷ Howden, *Gesta*, I, 51–55, 74–75.

⁷⁸ Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 234; Green, *Henry I*, p. 139.

⁷⁹ *ASC*, s.a. 1117; HH, pp. 460–63.

⁸⁰ Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 376.

⁸¹ *OV*, VI, 184–87 and 184 n. 4. For the significance of the Epte as a frontier, see Green, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin', pp. 47–49. Orderic noted that Louis occupied Gasny in retaliation for Henry's seizure of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte on the French side of the river, itself undertaken in order to halt raids by Otmund of Trie into the duchy (*OV*, VI, 184–85).

two 'counter-castles'.⁸² Late 1118 or early 1119, however, Louis again regained the strategic initiative by seizing the stronghold of Andely on the Seine.⁸³ The importance of the site is better known from the key role it played in Richard's defence of Normandy from 1196,⁸⁴ but the same considerations which made it so appealing to Richard indicate the great threat to Henry I's position caused by Louis's occupation of Andely. For though Henry still held Gisors and Château-sur-Epte, the Capetian king had succeeded in turning the southern flank of the defensive line of the Epte; he could now bring forces directly into the duchy, avoiding the well-nigh impregnable fortress of Gisors, and launch damaging raids deep into the Norman Vexin.⁸⁵ The elite French garrison of Andely, as Orderic noted, had soon 'brought the whole of the surrounding region along the Seine under their sway'.⁸⁶

The extent to which such raids might not only damage a ruler's ability to tax and thus wage war, but also undermine his authority and lordship is now well recognized. In describing Louis's attacks from Gasny, Suger noted that he 'plundered and destroyed [...] adding to the excellence of his kingdom and the shame of his opponent'.⁸⁷ Yet for Henry the problem was made still more acute by the circumstances of his own conquest of the duchy. The sustained campaign of propaganda justifying Henry's invasion and seizure of Normandy in 1105–06 had made a great deal of the fact that Henry had come to bring peace, stability, and security to the Church and people of Normandy, hitherto harassed by ceaseless internal warfare resulting from the weak and indolent rule of his brother Robert.⁸⁸ After his victory at Tinchebray, noted Malmesbury, Henry had established 'such a peace in

⁸² *OV*, VI, 186–87.

⁸³ *OV*, VI, 216–19 and 216 n. 2; Green, *Henry I*, p. 145 and n. 37.

⁸⁴ F. Maurice Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), pp. 111–16; Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 301–05.

⁸⁵ Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 246.

⁸⁶ *OV*, VI, 218–19. Suger confirms this, noting how the French commander, Enguerrand of Chaumont, 'brought under his control all the land up to the river Andelle — everything from the river Epte all the way up to Pont-Saint-Pierre' (Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 194; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 115).

⁸⁷ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 186; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 113.

⁸⁸ *OV*, VI, 56–65, and cf. *GR*, I, 706–07, 720–25. According to Orderic, Henry later stated the same case at length to Pope Calixtus II in person during their interview at Gisors in 1120 (*OV*, VI, 284–89). See now Gilduin Davy, 'Autour de la restauration de l'ordre: les justification juridiques de la bataille de Tinchebray dans l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Orderic Vital', in *Tinchebray 1106–2006*, ed. by Gazeau and Green, pp. 21–34.

Normandy as no age has ever seen', and which even the Conqueror 'with his proud record in deed and word, could never make'.⁸⁹ Yet now sustained French assaults and the localized plundering by rebel Norman lords which they encouraged were undermining this peace, and with it, Henry's reputation and authority. As Suger pointedly noted of the attacks by Louis and his allies: 'Breaking the defensive barrier of Normandy [...] they opened up to pillage and fires a land that long peace had made rich. They wreaked unbearable havoc in every direction with their raiding, something that usually did not happen when the king of England was present.'⁹⁰ He invoked the language of the Book of Maccabees to paint Louis as an all-conquering commander, who 'forced the land of Normandy to grow silent in his sight. Sometimes large, sometimes small, the size of the band of his men did not matter when he delivered the land over to plundering'.⁹¹

Yet such raiding might have an aim beyond inflicting economic or psychological damage. In reassessing Edward III's strategy against Philip VI and John II of France, Clifford Rogers has persuasively argued that the *chevauchée* — the large-scale but fast-moving raid aimed at plundering and devastating an enemy's territory — and sieges of major towns were used by Edward primarily as a means to the end of provoking his Valois rival into a decisive pitched battle in the open field.⁹² Between 1117 and 1119, it appears that Louis VI and his allies had pursued a similar strategy against Henry I. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recorded how in 1117, 'the king of France and the count of Flanders with him came with an army into Normandy and stayed there one night, and in the morning, went back without a fight'.⁹³ The gesture served to indicate the vulnerability of the Norman frontier, but the choice of their camp, at Mortemer, was still more symbolic.⁹⁴ For it was here in 1054 that the Normans had inflicted a humiliating reverse on King Henry of France and his allies.⁹⁵ By implication, Louis and Baldwin were throwing down

⁸⁹ GR, I, 724–25.

⁹⁰ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 186; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 113.

⁹¹ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 196; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 116; I Maccabees 1. 3.

⁹² Clifford Rogers, 'Edward III and the Dialectics of Strategy, 1327–1336', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 4 (1994), 83–102; Clifford Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000).

⁹³ *ASC*, s.a. 1117.

⁹⁴ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 311. It is no coincidence that this detail comes from a Warenne source, as Mortemer had been granted by Duke William to William I de Warenne after the battle in 1054.

⁹⁵ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, pp. 75–77.

the gauntlet, signalling their intention to avenge this defeat. Much more serious provocations, however, were to come. Hermann of Tournai believed that Baldwin VII of Flanders had led a force through north-east Normandy to the gates of Rouen itself, where he challenged Henry to fight. When Henry declined from the safety of the great keep, Baldwin made a circuit of the city and, as a gesture of frustration and contempt, broke down the enclosures of the neighbouring ducal deer park before withdrawing.⁹⁶ Hermann's anecdote is not necessarily trustworthy, but a similar story, this time involving Louis VI, was known to William of Malmesbury, who went to great lengths to justify Henry's inactivity on the grounds of not wanting to risk the lives of his beloved knights in a reckless fight. Henry's decision to sit tight behind the defences of Rouen may have been strategically prudent, but it evidently aroused opposition from within his council. According to Malmesbury, 'his knights in a body beset him with protests, demanding leave to drive out that tunbelly Louis, who had been wont to keep his fat self in bed, and was now loading the air with threats because their own king let him be'.⁹⁷

On the day of the battle of Brémule, Orderic noted that the French king advanced from Andely 'repeatedly complaining to his men that they could never contrive to meet the king of England in the open field (*in aperto reperire campo*)'.⁹⁸ But by the summer of 1119, the avoidance of battle had no longer become a viable option for Henry; just as his humiliating defeat at Alençon in 1118 had caused a wave of desertion, so only a major victory could reinforce his authority. As Malmesbury put it:

Finally, when he saw that a sinister interpretation was being put on his policy of prudence, and it was passing for cowardice, to such an extent that Louis lit fires and drove off his booty within four miles of Rouen, he steeled his heart, and, mobilizing his forces, roundly defeated him in pitched battle, reversing his previous negligence by a bold stroke of victory.⁹⁹

Brémule thus provides a prominent example of a ruler potentially forced to risk all to save a rapidly deteriorating political situation. Henry's position in 1119, indeed, is closely analogous to the acute dilemma that would face Guy de Lusignan in 1187 on the eve of Hattin or Philip of Valois in 1346 when confronted with

⁹⁶ Hermann of Tournai, *Liber de restauratione monasterii S. Martini Tornacensis*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH Scriptores, 14 (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), p. 284.

⁹⁷ *GR*, I, 732–33.

⁹⁸ *OV*, VI, 234–35.

⁹⁹ *GR*, I, 734–35.

Edward III's army drawn up for battle at Crécy.¹⁰⁰ Tactical wisdom might dictate the avoidance of a major engagement, yet the political damage caused by repeated battle avoidance to a king whose legitimacy and authority was contested was ultimately considered to be the greater risk.

The Problem of Loyalty

In such circumstances, a commander's misgivings about the huge risks involved in fighting a major engagement were greatly exacerbated by the fear of treachery. Some prominent Norman lords, such as William III Crispin, were implacable in their hostility to Henry and had openly joined Louis's forces in support of William Clito.¹⁰¹ But there were others who, after earlier revolts, had returned to Henry's peace yet whose loyalty was still deeply suspect. As Orderic commented:

At that time, King Henry could not support a long siege, because, in the general confusion that always occurs in conflicts with his own kinsmen, he was unable to trust his own men. Men who ate with him favoured the cause of his nephew and his other enemies and, by prying into his secrets, greatly helped these men.¹⁰²

As the attacks of the Franco-Flemish-Angevin coalition had increased, defections had grown, particularly from border magnates, among whom Hugh de Gournay and the counts of Eu and Aumale were the most prominent.¹⁰³ In 1118, after a period of temporary reconciliation, Henry had had both Hugh and Henry, count of Eu, arrested and deprived of their castles, but this only drove them into a more serious rebellion.¹⁰⁴ It was to this time of crisis that Suger attributes the attempted

¹⁰⁰ Raymond C. Smail, 'The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183–1187', in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. by Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer, and Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982), pp. 159–76; Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, pp. 266–68; Ayton, 'Battle of Crécy', pp. 104–07.

¹⁰¹ For Crispin, see *ASC*, s.a. 1112; *OV*, vi, 148 and nn. 2 and 3, p. 180; Green, *Henry I*, p. 124. Crispin had been released after his capture at Tinchebray and had been exiled, probably in late 1111, presumably for plotting further opposition, but had been restored as one of the conditions of the marriage negotiations between Henry and Fulk in 1113.

¹⁰² *OV*, vi, 200–01. Cf. the Warrenne chronicle, which noted that Henry 'realized he could not defend himself in battle' because his nobles were loyal only in appearance, and he held them in suspicion (*Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 311).

¹⁰³ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 190.

¹⁰⁴ *OV*, vi, 190–91; Green, *Henry I*, pp. 141–43; and see below, note 115.

assassination of Henry by one of his chamberlains, adding that the King thenceforth slept with a sword and shield by him, took always to wearing a sword, and heavily fined any of his men who failed to carry their swords about with them.¹⁰⁵ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* noted that in 1119, Henry 'was very often much troubled because of the war with the king of France and with his own men who had deserted him treacherously'.¹⁰⁶ Some Norman magnates, such as Richer de L'Aigle, exploited the threat of handing over their castles to Louis to press their claims on Henry I.¹⁰⁷ Others directly betrayed their fortresses to the French. Suger believed that Louis had gained Andely because it had been betrayed to him, while Orderic noted that on the day of the battle of Brémule itself, Louis's army had marched on the castle of Noyon-sur-Andelle 'because he hoped to take the castle that same day by treason which had been planned'.¹⁰⁸

Few commanders were rash enough to give battle without taking counsel from their nobles, but such counsel was invariably divided. On the French side, some more cautious nobles like Burchard of Montmorency warned Louis not to fight, but 'the turbulent knights of Chaumont', whose lands had recently suffered from Henry's own raids, urged the King to join combat.¹⁰⁹ In Henry's camp, William de Tancarville advised Henry against battle.¹¹⁰ Orderic listed him among those magnates faithful to the King in 1119, but the chamberlain's advice had not always proved sound.¹¹¹ In such a time of crisis it was all too easy to see faint-heartedness or even treachery in such caution, and those advocating restraint ran the risk that enemies at court would denounce them for counsel 'mingled with the hair of the wolf'.¹¹² Others, however, including Roger of Bienfaite and William de Warenne

¹⁰⁵ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 190.

¹⁰⁶ *ASC*, s.a. 1119.

¹⁰⁷ *OV*, VI, 196–98; Kathleen Thompson, 'The Lords of Laigle: Ambition and Insecurity on the Borders of Normandy', *ANS*, 18 (1995), 177–99 (pp. 182–86).

¹⁰⁸ *OV*, VI, 234–35.

¹⁰⁹ *OV*, VI, 234 and n. 3.

¹¹⁰ *OV*, VI, 234–35.

¹¹¹ *OV*, VI, 222–23. Orderic relates with evident suspicion how in 1118, Henry had been diverted from a crucial counter-attack on L'Aigle by an urgent but, as it transpired, unfounded warning from William that Rouen was under attack from William Clito's partisans. Tancarville was thus 'the means of bringing welcome relief to men who were trembling with cold and terror' at L'Aigle (*OV*, VI, 198–201).

¹¹² The proverb used by Gerard de Ridefort on the eve of the catastrophic defeat at Hattin to discredit as treacherous Raymond of Tripoli's (all too sound) advice to King Guy not to risk an

‘urged him on with spirit’ to engage the French.¹¹³ It is this moment of decision which forms a dramatic climax in the Warenne chronicle. Henry, it relates, had marshalled his forces in the open field to meet the invasion of Louis VI, but plagued with doubt about the fidelity of his magnates, he had ordered a withdrawal to Rouen. On hearing this, the Earl of Warenne hurried to the King’s side and assured him of his loyalty and that of his kin:

My lord king, your reverence has held myself and my kinsmen in suspicion for a long while, but unjustly, for there is no one who can convict me of treason or perjury. So now that I see you under pressure of greater need than you have been in all your life, since the king of the French rushes against you with his forces thus enflamed and in hasty pride, I place myself and my kinsmen in the face of death against him on your behalf, so that you may be certain that I am most faithful to you, and that you shall know to be untrue and false all those things you have long heard from malicious tale-bearers. Therefore, halt the army and draw up your battle lines against him, so that I, with my men in the first rank of your forces, will take him on and myself sustain the full weight of battle.¹¹⁴

Henry, continues the chronicle, was overjoyed, because he could now place more trust in his nobles than he had dared hope for, and ordered his forces to make ready for battle. The suspicion of disloyalty which had hung over William II de Warenne (as it doubtless did in Henry II’s mind over William IV) was now swept away by his willingness to fight and his steadfastness in the ensuing battle. The Warenne chronicle’s account stresses the profound significance of battle as the supreme test of loyalty and the touchstone of true fidelity. It equally reveals how, among a roll-call of distinguished military service to the Conqueror and his sons in some of their most critical moments, Brémule could assume a particularly important place in the collective memory and self image of one of the greatest Anglo-Norman noble families.

advance against Saladin from the army’s strategic base at the springs of Saffuriyya (*La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (1184–1197), ed. by Margaret R. Morgan (Paris: Geuthner, 1982), pp. 44–45; Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (Brookfield, VT: Scolar, 1996), pp. 37–38).

¹¹³ *OV*, VI, 234–35; *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, pp. 316–17. William de Warenne, William de Roumare, William de Tancarville, Walter Giffard, and Nigel d’Aubigny were among those magnates named by Orderic as remaining loyal to Henry in the crisis of 1119 (*OV*, VI, 222–25).

¹¹⁴ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, pp. 316–17; Hollister, ‘The Taming of a Turbulent Earl’, *Historical Reflections / Réflexions historiques*, 3 (1976), 83–91; repr. in Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions*, pp. 137–44 (p. 143). My translation here is indebted to that of Dr van Houts, *Warenne Chronicle* (forthcoming).

Fears over the constancy of nobles may well have informed tactical dispositions themselves. Warenne's eagerness to take a position in the leading rank was a direct rebuttal of charges of disloyalty, and of complicity with some of those now supporting Louis and Clito.¹¹⁵ But the placing of potentially suspect forces in the front ranks rather than in the rear also prevented them from slipping away while the leading ranks were engaged. Similarly, at Brémule (as earlier at Tinchebray) Henry had the great majority of his knights dismount to fight on foot.¹¹⁶ There were good tactical reasons for doing so; a close, defensive formation of heavily armoured knights gave protection to infantry and offered the best way to defeat an opponent's initial charge. But as contemporaries recognized, dismounting made knights fight more resolutely.¹¹⁷ With their horses removed to the rear of the army, flight would be difficult if not impossible, a consideration of still more crucial importance in circumstances where divided loyalties might otherwise tempt desertion at a critical moment. The flight of Robert of Bellême with the mounted rear division of Duke Robert's army at Tinchebray had sealed the Duke's fate, and he was bitterly reproached for this act of cowardice, if not treachery.¹¹⁸

Bellême's flight brings us to another vital determinant in men's conduct in battle: fear of the consequences of capture. For while the convention of ransom was long established in north-west France, those deemed to be rebels or leading opponents in a civil war could not necessarily expect to be ransomed, even if political expediency often dictated that they were in fact treated with clemency. Bellême's conduct at Tinchebray was driven by the realization that if he were captured,

¹¹⁵ When in 1117, Henry I had pre-emptively seized Hugh de Gournay and Henry, count of Eu, suspecting them of imminent rebellion, it was Warenne, a kinsman of Hugh de Gournay, who had persuaded the King to release them. Both lords, however, were soon in league with Baldwin of Flanders, and in June 1118, Hugh had openly deserted Henry and ravaged the pays of Caux and Talou. Count Henry had also abandoned Henry I until the death of Count Baldwin, when he returned to the King's allegiance and fought for him at Brémule (*OV*, VI, 190–91, 236–37; *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, pp. 313–14).

¹¹⁶ Orderic noted that out of the King's force of five hundred knights, four hundred fought on foot (*OV*, VI, 238).

¹¹⁷ HH, p. 454, 'ut constantius pugnaret' (Tinchebray); Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 197; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 117: 'King Henry made his armed knights dismount so that they might fight more bravely on foot (*ut fortius committant*).'

¹¹⁸ David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 247 n. 14; HH, p. 444; GR, I, 724; *OV*, VI, 90–91; and below, pp. 112–13. At Lincoln in 1141, the mounted element of Stephen's army fled the field leaving the King and his dismounted forces to be overwhelmed and captured (HH, p. 736). For a detailed discussion of the battle, see Jim Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda: The Civil War of 1139–53* (Stroud: Sutton, 1996), pp. 83–99.

Henry's bitter enmity would have ensured his long imprisonment or perhaps still worse. The fate of William of Mortain, taken captive with Curthose in 1106, showed these fears were not groundless; William was not only kept a captive for life, but may well have been blinded.¹¹⁹ When at the battle of Bourgethroulde in 1124, William of Grandcourt captured Henry's longstanding enemy Amaury de Montfort, he released him, 'knowing for certain that if he were captured he would never, or only with great difficulty, get out of the king's clutches again'. Instead, he chose to join Amaury in France in a self-imposed exile.¹²⁰ Such considerations impacted directly on the actions of those Norman supporters of William Clito present among the French forces at Brémule: Count Stephen of Aumale, Hugh de Gournay, and other nobles 'who had left King Henry and rebelled against him', stood apart in a safe place during the battle itself to see who would emerge victorious, not daring to join in lest they fell into the King's hands. On seeing the French defeat, they returned home in sorrow.¹²¹ A more drastic and audacious solution to this dilemma was attempted by their fellow rebel, William Crispin, who, cutting his way through to Henry's position, tried to kill him and was only thwarted by the quality of the King's armour.¹²² Had he succeeded, it is doubtful whether the morale and cohesion of the Anglo-Norman army could have withstood such a blow as the death of the King, even at this late stage in the battle.

The Battle

The intensity of Louis's attacks, which had forced Henry's hand into fighting a major engagement, was also to have important repercussions on the nature of the conflict itself. Suger frankly admitted that by August 1119, Louis was becoming overconfident: 'After some time his continual ability to harass the English king made him despise him and his men, and pay no attention to them.'¹²³ The army he led into the duchy comprised around four hundred knights, but, doubtless to give

¹¹⁹ *GR*, I, 724–25; *HH*, pp. 698–99 and 698 n. 3; *OV*, VI, 90–91; C. Warren Hollister, 'Royal Acts of Mutilation', in Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions*, pp. 291–301 (pp. 298–99).

¹²⁰ *OV*, VI, 352–53.

¹²¹ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 318. Orderic similarly noted how in 1135, though some Normans favoured the Angevin cause, they dared not take up arms against Henry 'for they knew all too well that he punished guilty men by fettering them for life' (*OV*, VI, 444–45).

¹²² *OV*, VI, 238–39; *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 318.

¹²³ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 196; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, pp. 116–17.

his force speed and mobility, there were no supporting infantry. This was a serious weakness and ran contrary to the stress placed by most seasoned commanders, including Henry I himself, on the close coordination and mutual support of cavalry and infantry units. It suggests, indeed, that Louis, in his dash to seize Noyon, was taken by surprise in meeting the Anglo-Norman army ready for combat. The Warene chronicle notes that on seeing Henry's army drawn up in battle array, Louis was enraged, because in his arrogance he had thought that Henry would never dare to openly confront him.¹²⁴ Accordingly, he launched an immediate attack without any planning, his knights charging with great force but 'sine ordine et mensura'.¹²⁵ Suger confirms that the attack was impetuous, overhasty, and unplanned: 'King Louis and his men [...] deemed it unworthy to plan carefully for battle and rushed against their enemy in a bold but careless attack.'¹²⁶

In marked contrast, Henry had made careful preparation. The four knights he had wisely stationed on the hill of Verclives to keep watch had alerted the King in good time to the approach of the French, revealed by the tell-tale smoke from barns they had fired at Buscheron.¹²⁷ He knew the terrain well, for the ducal castle at nearby Lyons la Forêt was a favourite residence for hunting. The sources all stress the skill with which Henry drew up his formations — 'prudenter', 'sagaciter', 'sapienti usus consilio', 'prudenti fretus industria'.¹²⁸ In 1119, Henry was fifty-one, with some thirty years of military experience behind him, and had shown himself to be a highly capable commander. As Judith Green has commented, Henry I 'may have lacked the military reputation of his father, or Rufus' verve, but he was no mean exponent in the art of war'.¹²⁹ Suger called Henry 'a very brave man who was renowned in peace and war (*virum fortissimum, pace et bello clarum*)',¹³⁰ and we should be wary of taking at face value Malmesbury's statement, drawn from Frontinus, that he 'embodied that saying of Scipio Africanus: "My mother bore me for command, not combat"'.¹³¹ Henry of Huntingdon was no doubt guilty of flattery

¹²⁴ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 317.

¹²⁵ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 317; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 196.

¹²⁶ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 196; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 117.

¹²⁷ *OV*, VI, 234–37.

¹²⁸ *OV*, VI, 236–37; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 196; *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 317.

¹²⁹ Judith A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 1.

¹³⁰ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 98; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 69.

¹³¹ *GR*, I, 744–45.

and epic exaggeration worthy of a *chanson de geste* when, in recounting how Henry was struck on the helmet by William Crispin in the last desperate stages of the battle at Brémule, he had the King suitably avenge himself by striking Crispin 'so strongly with his sword that although his helmet was impenetrable, yet the massive blow overturned knight and horse'.¹³² Orderic more plausibly noted that it was Roger fitz Richard who felled the King's assailant, before flinging himself over his prisoner to prevent him being slain by Henry's vengeful companions.¹³³ Nevertheless, in contrast with his brother Rufus and his grandson Henry II, Henry I had already fought in two major battles, at Tinchebray and at Alençon, tasting both victory and defeat, and did not shirk from being in the thick of the fighting in lesser engagements.

To his own cumulative military experience was added that of a cadre of veteran commanders and captains, centred on the *familia regis*, who discussed and disseminated their experience of raiding, siege, battle, and the effective waging of war in much the same way as the military community visible under Edward III which so greatly contributed to the remarkable success of English arms from the 1330s to the 1350s. Robert of Meulan, who as a young man had fought with distinction at Hastings, had commanded Henry's second division at Tinchebray, and only died in 1118.¹³⁴ His longevity may have been unusual, but other veterans of Tinchebray fought for Henry in 1119, not least William II de Warenne, who had led the third division of the royal army, commanding the men of the Cotentin.¹³⁵ Such men included not just great lords, but long-serving knights of less exalted rank such as Ralph the Red of Pont Echanfray, whose career has been highlighted by Marjorie Chibnall.¹³⁶ Orderic neatly captured the indivisible nature of service in peace and war, owed by new men and older nobility alike as much on the battlefield as in the counsel chamber, when after listing Henry's leading men at the battle, he noted

¹³² HH, pp. 464–65.

¹³³ OV, IV, 238–39.

¹³⁴ David Crouch, 'Beaumont, Robert de, Count of Meulan and First Earl of Leicester (d. 1118)', *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1881>>. For his great importance in Henry I's military organization, and on this cadre of commanders in general, see John Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Anglo-Norman Kings', *EHR*, 96 (1981), 1–35.

¹³⁵ OV, VI, 88.

¹³⁶ OV, VI, 238–39; G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, new edn rev. by V. Gibbs, 13 vols in 14 (London: St Catherine Press, 1910–59), XI, Appendix D, p. 107; Marjorie Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the *Familia Regis*', *History*, 62 (1977), 5–23 (p. 18). The cohesion and effectiveness of this military community must surely have been adversely affected by the loss of the White Ship, in which Ralph the Red and the King's son Richard were lost.

that 'many more thronged about the king; all these might be compared with the Roman censors, the Scipios or Marii or Catos, for they were conspicuous both for their statesmanship and for their knightly prowess'.¹³⁷ Brémule equally highlights the key role played by Henry's natural sons Robert and Richard, already experienced commanders within the *familia regis*, who, according to the Warenne chronicle, were placed in command of the division of infantry that would play a decisive part in the battle.¹³⁸ This was not fortuitous; here again considerations of loyalty affected disposition of forces, and the fidelity of both Robert and Richard, who owed all to Henry, was unshakable. William Aetheling, perhaps not yet sixteen, was almost certainly in his father's army.¹³⁹ Despite the grave risks, Henry I doubtless considered it essential for his son to win his spurs in this trial by battle, fought to secure his future rights against his cousin William Clito, who was in the vanguard of the opposing French army.

The humiliating defeat Henry had suffered at Alençon only the year previously had come about when the vanguard of his army, under his nephews Theobald and Stephen, had rushed ahead in their eagerness to join battle and lost contact with the main Anglo-Norman formation.¹⁴⁰ Determined not to repeat such a costly mistake, Henry now adopted a strong defensive formation, echoing that which he had adopted with such success at Tinchebray. Henry had had to deploy his forces 'in an open field and wide plain (*liber campus et [...] latissimna*) called Brémule' near to Verclives, terrain which offered little in the way of natural defensive features but which was good cavalry country.¹⁴¹ The King, however, already had experience of how the powerful charge of mounted knights could best be defeated; during the invasion crisis of 1101, he had personally instructed his troops on how to withstand cavalry with their lances directed at the chests of the enemy horses, and it seems likely that at Tinchebray, his forces successfully withstood a cavalry charge

¹³⁷ *OV*, VI, 236–37.

¹³⁸ Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the *Familia Regis*', p. 18; *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 317.

¹³⁹ *OV*, VI, 240–41. No chronicler mentions the participation of Stephen, then Count of Mortain, at the battle, and this may have been a deliberate safeguard on Henry's part. He was certainly in Normandy, for he took part in the burning of Évreux in 1119 (*OV*, VI, 228–29). Edmund King, 'Stephen of Blois, Count of Mortain and Boulogne', *EHR*, 115 (2000), 271–96.

¹⁴⁰ *OV*, VI, 206–09.

¹⁴¹ *OV*, VI, 240–41, notes that the battle was fought half-way between Noyon and Andely, which were three leagues apart; see Bradbury, *Medieval Archer*, p. 47, on the terrain being 'ideal for cavalry'.

by elements of Duke Robert's army led by William of Mortain.¹⁴² Huntingdon believed Henry's army comprised three divisions, with his leading nobles in the vanguard, the King in the central division 'cum propria familia', and the third division led by his sons with 'a great force of foot soldiers'.¹⁴³ The Warrenne chronicle, by contrast, has the Anglo-Norman army formed of four divisions. The first was led by Earl William, together with Walter Giffard, Roger de Bienfaite, and other kinsmen. The second was formed of other earls and barons, while the third, commanded by Henry I's sons, with 'the more faithful knights', comprised a very dense formation of infantry ('ex peditibus quam densissimum cuneum'). The King himself commanded the fourth division which he 'strengthened in depth (*multipliciter roboravit*)'.¹⁴⁴ The first line was apparently mounted, and may well have been intended as a screen to mask the strength of the dismounted formations behind, and to encourage the French to attack.¹⁴⁵ Orderic gives no details of Henry's deployment, other than to note that while the majority of his five hundred knights dismounted to fight on foot, the King kept a strong force of cavalry, comprising one hundred knights under the command of Henry's natural son Richard.¹⁴⁶ The conflicting statements of the chroniclers make it impossible to be certain whether Richard led this cavalry reserve or the infantry division, but if Orderic is correct, it would underline Henry I's concern to entrust a key mounted unit to someone of unimpeachable loyalty. Neither the Warrenne chronicle nor Huntingdon refer specifically to a mounted reserve, but at Tinchebray, a flank attack by a division of cavalry under Count Helias of Maine had proved decisive.¹⁴⁷ The existence of such

¹⁴² *GR*, I, 716–17. Huntingdon's comment that 'both the king and the duke and the other lines were on foot' (HH, pp. 454–55), has often been assumed to mean that all the ducal army fought dismounted, but his description of Mortain's attack better suggests a mounted charge, while Torigny (*GND*, II, 222) notes the ducal army attacked 'cum magno impetu'. For discussion, see Matthew Bennett, 'Les Aspects militaires de la bataille de Tinchebray (1106)', in *Tinchebray, 1106–2006*, ed. by Gazeau and Green, pp. 71–78 (p. 77).

¹⁴³ HH, pp. 464–65.

¹⁴⁴ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 317.

¹⁴⁵ HH, pp. 464–65.

¹⁴⁶ *OV*, VI, 238–39; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, XI, Appendix D, p. 107; Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the *Familia Regis*', p. 18.

¹⁴⁷ *OV*, VI, 88–91; HH, p. 454; David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 247 n. 14. Richard Barton, 'Henry I, Count Helias of Maine and the Battle of Tinchebray', in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World: Studies in Memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. by Donald F. Fleming and Janet M. Pope, *HISJ*, special volume, 17 (2006), 63–90.

a unit at Brémule is suggested by the fact that the defeated French were hotly pursued to the very gates of Andely by some of Henry's knights.¹⁴⁸

Some further light on the possible nature of Henry's dispositions may be furnished by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. For although its descriptions of warfare and combat are frequently subject to poetic invention, epic exaggeration, and classicizing terminology, it nevertheless contains undoubted echoes of Anglo-Norman military practices.¹⁴⁹ These, moreover, cannot have been lost on the work's main dedicatee, Robert of Gloucester, for whom Brémule had been the first of a number of pitched battles in which he was to fight. At the great battle against the Romans at Saussy, for example, King Arthur draws up his army into a reserve and seven other divisions, each comprising of cavalry and infantry.

Behind all these the king chose a position for himself and for a single legion which he had appointed to remain under his orders. There he set up the Golden Dragon which he had as his personal standard. To this point, the wounded and exhausted could withdraw in case of necessity, as if to a fortified camp.¹⁵⁰

It is quite possible that at Brémule, the King's division acted as a refuge and rallying point in a manner similar to Geoffrey's description, and that Henry also made use of a dragon banner.¹⁵¹ As at Tinchebray, where 'all the camp followers and servants

¹⁴⁸ *OV*, VI, 242–43.

¹⁴⁹ John S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Historia regum Britanniae' and its Early Vernacular Versions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), pp. 321–44, especially pp. 330–36; Prestwich, 'Military Household of the Anglo-Norman Kings', pp. 123–25. For the work's political allusions, see Paul Dalton, 'The Topical Concerns of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie*: History, Prophecy, Peacemaking, and English Identity in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), 688–712; and John Gillingham, 'The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', *ANS*, 13 (1990), 99–118, repr. in John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century*. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 19–40.

¹⁵⁰ *The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, vol. I: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568, ed. by N. Wright (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), p. 123 (§ 168), also available in Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the 'De gestis Britonum' (Historia regum Britannie)*, ed. by Michael D. Reeve, trans. by Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007). I have followed the translation of Lewis Thorpe, Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p. 248, based on the text edited by Acton Griscom, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London: Longmans, 1929), p. 483.

¹⁵¹ Huntingdon may well be reflecting more contemporary practice when, in his elaboration of *ASC*, he refers (*s.a.* 752) to the 'regis insigne draconem scilicet aureum', and at the battle of

were removed far to the rear', Henry must have kept some troops well to his rear, to guard the baggage and the horses, of which there were at least four hundred if Orderic's figure as to the proportion of Henry's knights who dismounted to fight is accurate.¹⁵² Suger describes how only five years later, when the French drew up to repel the invasion of the German emperor Henry V, they formed their baggage wagons in a defensive laager to their rear.¹⁵³

Louis's army of some four hundred mounted knights was formed in two divisions. The first was under the nominal command of William Clito, who, as Orderic noted, 'armed himself here so that he might free his father from his long imprisonment and recover his ancestral inheritance'.¹⁵⁴ As Clito was only seventeen and had had little military experience, the de facto leader of this battalion was probably William de Garlande, seneschal of France and the French *princeps militiae*.¹⁵⁵ The second division was led by King Louis himself.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Clito's presence was of great significance, for he was the lynchpin of Louis's efforts against Henry and the focus of the disaffected Normans who held him as their natural lord. It was these men, prominent among whom was William Crispin, who now were in the forefront of the bold but impetuous charge launched against the Anglo-Norman army.

The great impetus of their initial attack succeeded in driving through and scattering the first ranks of Henry's army, elements of which seem to have been mounted.¹⁵⁷ The French knights were then confronted by the next division, comprised of densely formed infantry (*ex peditibus densissime [...] conserta*).¹⁵⁸ All too little is known about the nature and recruitment of these infantry serjeants; some were doubtless militia or contingents raised from the larger towns of the duchy, but

Assandun in 1016, has Edmund Ironside advance 'loco regio relicto, quod erat ex more inter dragonem et insigne quod vocatur Standard' (HH, pp. 242–43, 358–59). On the use of the dragon banner, see John S. P. Tatlock, 'The Dragons of Wessex and Wales', *Speculum*, 8 (1933), 223–35. A dragon standard was certainly carried by Richard at Messina in 1190 and at Arsuf in 1191 (*The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, ed. by John T. Appleby (London: Nelson, 1963), p. 23; Howden, *Chronica*, III, 129).

¹⁵² David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 247 n. 14.

¹⁵³ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 226.

¹⁵⁴ HH, p. 464; *OV*, VI, 236–37.

¹⁵⁵ *OV*, VI, 236–37. Clito had been knighted in 1116 by Count Baldwin of Flanders.

¹⁵⁶ HH, pp. 464–65.

¹⁵⁷ HH, pp. 464–65.

¹⁵⁸ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 317.

Henry I is known to have retained a large number of mounted archers in his *familia*.¹⁵⁹ Given the significance of bowmen at Bourghérulde and the battle of the Standard, it is possible that at Brémule such archers were placed among the protective formation of infantry. Whatever their exact composition, the closely packed ranks of the infantry defeated all attempts of the French and Normans to break through. Nor were they able to withdraw to regroup, for they were now attacked from behind by elements of the first divisions which had re-formed and turned about. Accordingly, the French were compelled to ride around either side of the impenetrable formation of infantry, diving into two groups as they did so, only to find themselves confronted by the forces under King Henry himself.¹⁶⁰ The French now found themselves surrounded on all sides, and according to Huntingdon, it was a counter-attack of the division of infantry under Henry's sons that caused the French to break in flight.¹⁶¹ It was in this last, desperate stage of the engagement that William Crispin made his attack on Henry himself, striking him at least once on his helmet before he too was felled and captured.¹⁶² Nearly a third of Louis's knights were captured, some taken on the field itself, but others seized during the hot pursuit of the routed French to the gates of Andely. Some escaped through guile; Orderic recounts how Peter of Maule and other knights avoided this fate by casting away their *cognitiones* — an early reference to some form of proto-heraldic devices — and by shouting the war cry of Henry's men, feigning to be among the pursuers rather than the pursued.¹⁶³

Aftermath

Historians have generally been reluctant to see Henry I as a chivalric figure, but in the wake of his victory, he acted with a magnanimity worthy of Rufus. The day after the battle, he sent back Louis's horse 'with the saddle and bridle and all the trappings that become a king', while on his father's advice, William Aetheling

¹⁵⁹ *GND*, II, 234–35; *OV*, VI, 350–51.

¹⁶⁰ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, pp. 317–18.

¹⁶¹ *HH*, pp. 464–65.

¹⁶² *HH*, pp. 464–65; *OV*, IV, 238–39.

¹⁶³ *OV*, VI, 242–43; Adrian Ailes, 'The Knight, Heraldry and Armour: The Role of Recognition and the Origins of Heraldry', in *Medieval Knighthood*, vol. IV: *Papers of Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 1–23 (p. 13).

similarly returned the horse of William Clito, his cousin, together with other gifts.¹⁶⁴ This was much more than an 'act of chivalry and sweet condescension'.¹⁶⁵ It was a princely expression of the *notitia contubernii* noted by Orderic, reflected equally in the sorrow Henry is said to have felt when, soon after, one of his captives, the renowned knight Guy de Clermont, died of sickness while in custody at Rouen.¹⁶⁶ It also symbolized that the fight had in important respects been a civil war between kinsmen and that William Clito could still find a worthy place within Henry's realm if he would only recognize his lordship. According to Orderic, Henry I told Calixtus II at their interview at Gisors in November 1119 that he had offered his nephew three English counties so that he might 'become a participator with my son in the riches of the kingdom'.¹⁶⁷

Though such overtures had been refused, Henry used liberality towards those captured at Brémule in an attempt to win over many of Clito's erstwhile supporters, notably among those lords of the Vexin and of eastern Normandy. He set free, seemingly without ransom, some like Burchard and Hervey of Gisors, 'because they were the vassals of both kings', although Otmund of Chaumont, an inveterate raider into the duchy, was confined in chains at Arques.¹⁶⁸ Approaches were made to rebels who had escaped the battle; Hugh de Gournay, Robert du Neubourg, and Count Stephen of Aumale were all pardoned and reconciled to the king in 1120, significantly though the mediation of William de Warenne.¹⁶⁹ Most remarkably, Henry I seems to have also released William Crispin unharmed, despite the fact that he had attempted to kill the King and had already been freed once by Henry after his capture at Tinchebray.¹⁷⁰ Indeed, Henry's magnanimity in the aftermath of Brémule stands in striking contrast to the reprisals, including lengthy imprisonment and mutilation, which he took after the suppression of the rebellion of 1123–24.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁴ *OV*, VI, 240–41.

¹⁶⁵ C. Warren Hollister, 'William [called Clito] (1102–1128)', *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58402>>.

¹⁶⁶ *OV*, VI, 242–43.

¹⁶⁷ *OV*, VI, 288–89.

¹⁶⁸ *OV*, VI, 240–41. Orderic implies Otmund was released after establishment of peace between the two kings.

¹⁶⁹ *OV*, VI, 278–81, 282–83.

¹⁷⁰ He was at liberty at least by 1123, when he again supported William Clito and his kinsman Amaury de Montfort in their struggle against Henry (*OV*, VI, 344–45).

¹⁷¹ *OV*, VI, 352–55.

Henry had won Normandy by a trial by battle.¹⁷² Now he had defended it by one. Even Abbot Suger agreed that God's hand had been with King Henry, and saw the vicissitudes suffered by the English king from 1116 to 1119 as clearly demonstrating the fickleness of Fortune. After an earlier period of sustained success, Henry 'now found himself disturbed by a different and luckless turn of events, like someone falling from the top of the wheel of fortune'.¹⁷³ But because Henry 'was a generous donor to churches and a liberal giver of alms', divine providence, 'which mercifully extends the right hand of its clemency to men who have been abandoned by human help and are at the very brink of despair', had now brought him back from the bottom of the wheel by a victory in battle.¹⁷⁴ The Warenne chronicle agreed that Henry's salvation in such a time of dire crisis was the result of his piety and humility in seeking the aid of God; the churches of England and Normandy had engaged in prayer and fasting, aided by the potent intercession of the monks of Cluny, to whose Abbot Pons Henry had shown himself a munificent benefactor.¹⁷⁵

It was little wonder then that when in late September, after further campaigning, Henry returned in triumph to Rouen, 'amidst the sound of battle-cries and the chanting of the clergy', he 'glorified God who is the Lord of Hosts'.¹⁷⁶ Regrettably, nothing further is known of what Huntingdon here implies was an elaborate entry ceremony into the ducal capital, or of the services of thanksgiving in the major churches, such as had greeted his father's victorious return from England in 1067.¹⁷⁷ There is no indication that Henry intended to build a votive church at Brémule, in the manner of foundations such as the Conqueror's Battle Abbey or Fulk Nerra's Beaulieu lès Loches (originally *Belli Locus*) built to commemorate his victory over Conan of Rennes at Conquereuil in 992.¹⁷⁸ Henry probably felt little need; unlike

¹⁷² As Orderic has King Henry tell Calixtus II at Gisors in 1120, 'I did not deprive my brother of the duchy of Normandy, but laid legal claim by battle to the just inheritance of our father' (*OV*, VI, 248).

¹⁷³ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, p. 188; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, pp. 113–14. Similarly, *OV*, VI, 242–45, has Amaury de Montfort comfort Louis after his defeat by reminding him of Fortune's wheel.

¹⁷⁴ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, pp. 192–94; Suger, *Deeds of Louis*, p. 115.

¹⁷⁵ *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 314, and p. 315 where Henry merits divine aid 'because of worthy works of humility and penance'.

¹⁷⁶ HH, pp. 464–65; *OV*, VI, 250–51; William Farrer, *An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First* (Oxford: Frederick Hall, [1920]), p. 85.

¹⁷⁷ *WP*, pp. 176–77.

¹⁷⁸ Bernard S. Bachrach, 'The Combat Sculptures at Fulk Nerra's "Battle Abbey" (c. 1005–1012)', *HSJ*, 3 (1991), 63–80.

Conquereuil or Hastings, so little blood had been shed at Brémule, and Saint Evroul's cell at Noyon was already close by. Orderic recounts, however, that 'King Henry purchased the standard of King Louis for twenty marks of silver from the knight who had captured it, and kept it as a memorial of the victory which God had given him'.¹⁷⁹ Where it was thus kept is not stated, but banners captured in war were sometimes presented as votive offerings to major religious houses, and one might speculate that Henry sent the French royal banner either to one of the great churches in Rouen, or perhaps to his foundation of Reading Abbey.¹⁸⁰

Reverberations

In strategic terms, Brémule had been a blow to Louis, but it had not destroyed his fighting capacity. The French king was soon able to assemble fresh forces with the aid of Amaury de Montfort for an attack on Breteuil, though with the failure of this final campaign, Louis was forced to begin peace negotiations.¹⁸¹ Tinchebray had arguably been a greater victory for Henry and its impact more decisive. Yet crucially, Henry's success in 1106 was always overshadowed by its context of a bitter and divisive civil war, the imprisonment of a brother, and the charge of usurpation. In his additions to the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, written c. 1109–13, Orderic was careful to omit any mention of Tinchebray.¹⁸² Even William of Malmesbury in a less guarded moment could call it 'that inglorious victory over his brother (*ingloriosa de fratre victoria*)'.¹⁸³ In his later *De contemptu mundi*, the disillusioned Henry of Huntingdon included the fact that Henry had captured and imprisoned Robert 'his brother and lord' among a long catalogue of criticisms of the man he had once lionized.¹⁸⁴ The sense of shock and anger, not least at what was seen as Robert's betrayal by his own men, is tangible in Gilbert Crispin's *Vita*

¹⁷⁹ *OV*, VI, 240–41.

¹⁸⁰ The Conqueror had famously sent Harold's banner 'of an armed warrior woven in gold' to Pope Alexander II (*WP*, pp. 152–53), but in regard to Brémule a closer analogy is Richard I's gift of the banner of Isaac Comnenus, following his conquest of Cyprus in 1191, to the abbey of Saint Edmund, a saint for whom he had a special veneration: Howden, *Gesta*, II, 164.

¹⁸¹ *OV*, VI, 242–51.

¹⁸² Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'Les Sources de la bataille de Tinchebray', in *Tinchebray 1106–2006*, ed. by Gazeau and Green, pp. 61–70 (p. 64).

¹⁸³ *GR*, I, 746–47.

¹⁸⁴ *HH*, pp. 604–05.

Herluini (1109x17), where in a thinly veiled reference to Tinchebray, he roundly condemned those who, so unlike Herluin, had deserted their lord in his hour of greatest need.¹⁸⁵ It still more loudly rings from Wace's account of the battle, even written as it was for the ears of Henry II: 'He acts very shamefully, no one could do worse, who betrays his liege lord.'¹⁸⁶

By contrast, there was nothing to alloy or tarnish Henry's triumph at Brémule, news of which, noted Orderic, 'was spread far and wide and told in all the countries north of the Alps with sighs or smiles'.¹⁸⁷ A charter of Henry I issued on Christmas Day 1119 in favour of Savigny and addressed to Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans and all his barons of Maine and Normandy, was dated 'in anno quo Rex Anglorum dimicavit et debellavit regem Francorum'.¹⁸⁸ Nature itself had heralded this great conflict by strange portents.¹⁸⁹ For Huntingdon, the battle had humbled the pride of the arrogant French. King Henry, he boasted, 'has robbed the French of their proud spirits [...] this flower of commanders humbled their swollen hearts, and forced the proud mouths of the French to bleat'.¹⁹⁰ Yet crucially this great victory had been achieved without the effusion of Christian blood. Orderic was an enthusiastic apologist for Henry I's rule of the duchy, yet in his depiction of the battle fought as a just, defensive engagement in which killing was deliberately eschewed by the victors, he encapsulates the very reasons why the victory had such powerful resonances not just for Henry I's regime, but also for that of his grandson Henry II.

¹⁸⁵ *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, ed. by Anna S. Abulafia and Gillian R. Evans (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1986), pp. 186–87.

¹⁸⁶ Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Glyn S. Burgess (Saint Helier: Société Jersiaise, 2002), lines 11365–94.

¹⁸⁷ *OV*, VI, 242–43. It is probable that so great a victory also featured prominently in the now lost 'great book' of the life of Henry I by a certain David, mentioned by Gaimar as being commissioned by his second queen, Adeliza of Louvain, and which had some form of musical notation (*Lestoire des Engles solum la translacion maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. by Thomas D. Hardy and Charles T. Martin, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 91 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1889), lines 6483–6518).

¹⁸⁸ *RRAN*, II, 148, no. 1212.

¹⁸⁹ *HH*, pp. 124–25, noted that a great battle of birds had occurred at Rouen 'and thousands of dead birds were discovered and the foreign birds were observed being driven off'. This was 'a sign (*signum*) of a battle that was fought between Henry, lord of England and Normandy, and Louis, king of France'.

¹⁹⁰ *HH*, pp. 464–65. Cf. *Chronica monasterii de Hida*, ed. by Edwards, p. 316, where Louis is said to have advanced against the Anglo-Normans 'efferatus et superbia festinus'.

Indeed, the great importance attached by Henry II to his grandfather's reign as a touchstone of royal rights and good kingship ensured the continuing vitality of traditions concerning Brémule. Memories of a royal victory which secured the frontiers of Normandy against Capetian aggression must have seemed particularly apposite during the frequent periods of conflict with Louis VII. In his *Relatio de standardo*, written either shortly before or in the years immediately after the accession of Henry II, Ailred of Rievaulx added the battle to the roll call of Norman victories, granted to them by God, which comprised so central a feature of the 'the Norman myth'.¹⁹¹ As Ailred has his friend and patron, Walter Espec, proclaim to the Anglo-Norman army: 'We have seen with our own eyes the king of France and his whole army turn their backs to us and all the finest barons of his realm captured by us, some to be ransomed, some to be handed over in chains, some to be condemned to prison.'¹⁹² Similarly, it was in the later 1150s — at much the same time that John of Salisbury was remarking on how well known and how often mentioned the battle was — that the Warenne chronicle was being compiled, with its stress on the crucial role played by William II de Warenne. John knew of the efforts of William of Blois to bring his case before Pope Nicholas IV, most likely

¹⁹¹ Ailred, *Relatio de standardo*, in Howlett, *CRSHR*, III, 186. For the wider context of Ailred's account, see A. Glidden, 'Aelred the Historian: The Account of the Battle of the Standard', in *Erudition in God's Service: 21st International Congress on Medieval Studies, Selected Papers*, ed. by John R. Sommerfeldt, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, 11 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), pp. 175–84; and Elizabeth Freeman, 'Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Bello Standardii*: Cistercian Historiography and the Creation of Community Memories', *Cîteaux*, 49 (1998), 5–28.

¹⁹² Ailred, *Relatio de standardo*, p. 186; Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Historical Works*, trans. by Jane P. Freeland and ed. by Marsha L. Dutton (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005), p. 253. For Ailred's relations with Espec, see Derek Baker, 'Ailred of Rievaulx and Walter Espec', *HSJ*, 1 (1989), 91–98, while the speech is analysed by John R. E. Bliese, 'Aelred of Rievaulx's Rhetoric and Morale at the Battle of the Standard, 1138', *Albion*, 20 (1988), 543–56; and John R. E. Bliese, 'The Battle Rhetoric of Aelred of Rievaulx', *HSJ*, 1 (1989), 99–107. Espec's own participation at Brémule, which Ailred here strongly implies, may perhaps explain the production of a short account of the battle, based very largely on that of Henry of Huntingdon. The *Brevis narratio de bello inter Henricum I, regem Angliae, et Ludovicum Grossum, regem Francorum*, survives only in a fifteenth-century text (BL, MS Cotton Titus A XIX, fol. 144^r), where it precedes a copy of Ailred's *De bello standardii* in the same hand, while a marginal annotation of the later sixteenth century ascribes it to Nicholas de Walkington, a canon of Espec's foundation at Kirkham. The attribution is tentative, but suggests the continued significance within the memory of a religious community of a founder's role in a major battle. See James P. Carley, 'Walkington, Nicholas of (supp. fl. before 1200)', *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20087>>. My thanks are due to Daniel Gerrard for kindly checking the text of the *Brevis narratio* with that of Huntingdon.

through the agency of Eustace of Boulogne's brother, Baldwin, the archdeacon of Sudbury,¹⁹³ and it is possible that Warenne's suit played a role in bringing existing traditions surrounding the great engagement to the fore at Henry II's court.¹⁹⁴

Henry II was never to win so great a victory in pitched battle against the King of France, but in the war of 1173–74 he twice put Louis VII to ignominious flight, after which his military and political ascendancy over Louis remained unchallenged. And it is to this ensuing period of détente with the ageing Louis, before the relentless aggression of the young Philip Augustus had begun to manifest itself, that we find one of the final echoes of the battle of Brémule. Over half a century after Henry of Huntingdon had penned his exultant praise poem, Walter Map noted in his *Courtiers' Trifles* how Henry I, 'a man of foresight and a lover of peace, defeated in a battle near Gisors and put to flight Louis the Fat, king of France, and his most proud army (*cum exercitu suo superbissimo*), and returning victorious settled England in peace'.¹⁹⁵ But if such sentiments echoed those of Huntingdon, a markedly different tone is struck by the place he assigns the battle in a series of anecdotes relating to Louis VI and Louis VII. For Map, like Gerald of Wales and many other of the *eruditi* at Henry II's court, had studied at the schools in Paris, and these *exempla*, though subtle and sometimes double-edged in their purport, nevertheless reveal a notable respect, even an affection, for the French king. According to Map's tale, Louis VI arrived at Pontoise shortly after his defeat at Brémule, but 'appeared at table to all his guests most cheerful, not in the guise or the depression of a beaten man, but in the triumph of a conqueror'. When asked why, he replied:

To me things like this often happened in almost all parts of France, and by frequent misfortunes I have become hardened, and fear them very little. But Henry, king of England, who has today beaten us, has enjoyed uninterrupted successes, and he who has never suffered any disaster — if that had befallen him which has come upon us — would have sorrowed unbearably and beyond measure, and excess of grief might have driven him to madness or death — a good king, and one needed by all Christendom. So I count his victory as my own success for otherwise we might have lost him.

¹⁹³ *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. by W. J. Millor, Harold E. Butler, and Christopher N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979–86), I: *The Early Letters* (1986), no. 46, p. 82.

¹⁹⁴ For the reaction of Calixtus II to the battle itself and to Louis VI's appeal against Henry at the Council of Reims, see *OV*, VI, 288–90; Mary Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119–1124): A Pope Born to Rule*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 116–19.

¹⁹⁵ Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. by Montague Rhodes James, rev. by Christopher N. L. Brooke and Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 436–37.

'It was an answer to be imitated', concludes Map, 'and pure of envy.'¹⁹⁶ Here Map points up the relative weakness of the Capetian king who had often suffered reverses within his own realm, yet equally portrays Louis VI's stoic reaction as a form of victory; even if less powerful than their Anglo-Norman or Angevin rivals, these kings, Map seems to suggest, nevertheless retained a moral supremacy. It is more than doubtful that Louis ever uttered such sentiments, which rather reflect a supreme Plantagenet self-confidence that would soon be challenged. Yet Map comes closer to the truth in his assessment of the consequences of defeat for Henry I. Brémule had been a critical battle for his control of Normandy, and a victory for William Clito could well have led to a collapse in his position in the duchy. As it was, Henry attained a great victory, but one that was all too quickly undone by the fickleness of Fortune's wheel.

¹⁹⁶ Map, *De nugis curialium*, pp. 456–57.

BLANCHE OF CASTILE AND NORMANDY

Lindy Grant

The destiny of Blanche, daughter of King Alfonso VIII of Castile, was intimately linked with that of the duchy of Normandy from the moment that she attracts the attention of historians as a girl of twelve in 1200. Her mother was Eleanor of Domfront, daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. In 1199 and 1200, her uncles, Richard the Lionheart and, after Richard's death, King John, were in protracted negotiations with Philip Augustus, king of France, over the status of their French territories, above all their core patrimony, Normandy, which they ruled as dukes and successors of William the Conqueror. In the end, in return for a huge relief, Philip recognized John as Richard's heir for all the French territories. In celebration, and as surety, a niece of the King of England would be married to Louis, the heir to the French throne.¹ Blanche was the chosen niece. On 22 May 1200 the treaty was signed at the castle of Le Goulet; on 23 May, Blanche and Louis were married in the small church of Portmort on the Norman side of the border, since France was still under interdict owing to Philip Augustus's

This paper is offered to David to thank him for his tremendous support and encouragement — and trenchant, but always constructive, criticism — over many years.

¹ For the text of the treaty, see *Cartulaire normand de Philippe Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint Louis et Philippe le Hardi*, ed. by Léopold Delisle, *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, sér. 2, 6 (Caen: Hardel, 1852) (hereafter *CN*), pp. 280–81, no. 1063, and *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Alphonse Teulet, 5 vols (Paris: Plon, 1863–1909), II, 217–19, no. 578. For the protracted negotiations of the treaty, see Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 81, 95, 106–07; Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur flores historiarum*, ed. by Henry G. Hewlett, 3 vols, *Rolls Series*, 84 (London: Longmans, 1886–89), I, 284, 293–95. For discussion of the treaty, see F. Maurice Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), pp. 134–38.

marital irregularities.² Blanche saw no more of Normandy for a long time, for she was taken immediately to the Capetian court in Paris.

The marriage made Blanche, in the words of one French chronicler, 'as if herself the guarantee of the treaty' ('ut esset vinculum pacis, pigneratrix foederis'), a heavy burden for a child of twelve.³ Philip's biographer, Rigord, claimed that John agreed that if he died without direct legitimate heir, he would will all of his French lands to Louis as Blanche's husband, though this is a considerable overstatement of the treaty.⁴ But the French had insisted on the marriage of Louis to an Angevin princess throughout the negotiations. Richard and John were both childless, so there was at least a theoretical possibility that Normandy and the Angevin territories might come to the French crown through Blanche. Philip did not need to take advantage of the marital connection, for he took Normandy by conquest in 1204, and the great Angevin power block collapsed. As it did so, there is no record of Blanche acting as intercessor for or advocate of Angevin family interests at the Capetian court, though that was the role so often expected of princesses given in diplomatic marriages. Quite the opposite: the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie* has Philip Augustus persuading Blanche to demand all of the Vexin, including Andeli, from her uncle when John visited Paris in the summer of 1201. That may be no more than court gossip, but there is no doubt that when her husband invaded England to try to take the English throne in 1216, she supported him enthusiastically.⁵ Her uncle seems to have expected a more traditional, intercessory approach from her: in 1214, writing to inform the English exchequer about his activities in Poitou, John noted bitterly that 'we remember the giving of our niece to Louis the son of the king of France, and the outcome of that!'⁶

² Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 115; Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, I, 293–95.

³ 'Historia regum Francorum', in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. by Martin Bouquet and others, 24 vols (Paris, 1753–1904) (hereafter *RHGF*), XVII, 426.

⁴ Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', in *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. by Henri F. Delaborde, 2 vols (Paris: Société des Historiens de France, 1882–85), I, 148: 'et post decessum suum totam terram cismarinam si sine herede legitimo ipsum mori contingeret, omni contradictione postposita, eidem Ludovici concessit'.

⁵ For John's visit to Paris, see Howden, *Chronica*, IV, 164; for Philip making her demand the Vexin, see *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*, ed. by Francisque Michel (Paris: Renouard, 1840), p. 91. For Blanche's support for the invasion, see Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, II, 220–21.

⁶ Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, II, 100: 'memores enim fuimus neptis nostrae, Lodovico filio regis Franciae datae, et illius rei eventus'.

Philip Augustus kept tight control of Normandy, ensuring that it was governed and administered directly by the king's *baillis*. But with the accession of her husband to the French throne in 1223, Blanche became in effect Duchess of Normandy, both by conquest and by descent, fulfilling Philip's supposed marriage strategy. It is clear from genealogies in Philip Augustus's registers showing Louis's descent from William the Conqueror that Philip and his advisers were aware of the potential importance of claiming the duchy by succession as well as by conquest.⁷ Surprisingly, given her encouragement of her husband's pursuit of her claim to the English throne, Blanche seems to have made little of opportunities to present herself as the successor to the great duchesses of Normandy, though political events forced her to concentrate much of her political energy on the duchy.

Before I explore this issue further, it is important to point out that an analysis of Blanche's dealing with Normandy, as with all other aspects of her life, is complicated by vagaries of evidence. From her marriage in 1200 to the death of her husband in 1226, she wielded the intercessory power of a consort and mother of a future king, but is largely invisible in the public record. When Louis VIII died unexpectedly in 1226, he consigned the wardship of the kingdom and of his eldest son and heir Louis, still a minor, to Blanche.⁸ Blanche enjoyed power, and this may account for the fact that it is impossible to tell when Louis IX's minority ends. He never assumed power in any obvious or official way, unlike Henry III of England, and his mother continued to play an important role in the governance of France, in what Jacques Le Goff has called a '*un coroyauté*'.⁹ W. C. Jordan has argued that Louis only really emancipated himself from his mother in the 1240s, when, against her advice, he decided to go on Crusade.¹⁰ When he left in 1248, he left the governance of France in her hands, and it was as '*sola gubernatrice et tutrice totius regni Francorum*', as the chronicler of the Norman abbey of Lyre put it, that Blanche died in 1252.¹¹ As far as Normandy is concerned, her second period of governance shows clearly in the records. Other Norman chroniclers are unequivocal in describing the full reality of her rule. Acts are issued clearly in her name; letters, for instance asking permission for episcopal or abbatial election, are addressed directly

⁷ *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by John W. Baldwin (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1992), p. 554.

⁸ *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet, II, 102, no. 1828.

⁹ Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), pp. 128 and 174.

¹⁰ William C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 3–9, esp. pp. 7–8.

¹¹ 'E Chronicis Lirensis monasterii', in *RHGF*, XXIII, 469.

to her.¹² But her status and involvement during the period of wardship and ‘*corroyauté*’ is less openly and consistently stated. Sometimes it is unstated, though it can be inferred from other evidence, especially in the first two or three years of Louis IX’s reign. In the 1230s, documents may reveal her participation — but often in unexpected, apparently minor, issues.

As I have said, whatever Blanche’s feelings for the duchy of her maternal ancestors, political factors ensured that she could not ignore it. The duchy which she and Louis VIII inherited from Philip Augustus was remarkably stable. All but a few of the greater Anglo-Norman magnates had retreated to England; indeed, around 1200 many of the great Norman families had failed altogether. As a result, the most prominent Norman families in the post-1204 duchy were those who had once been of second rank.¹³ Philip had been careful to avoid rewarding many great French magnates too well within Normandy, but he did ensure that some key fiefs, especially within border zones, were held by his relatives or close confederates. His cousin Robert de Courtenay was given Nonancourt and Conches.¹⁴ Of his Dreux cousins, Count Robert acquired properties in the Pays de Caux through his marriage to the heiress to the honour of Saint-Valéry, while Philip gave neighbouring Brittany through marriage to Robert’s younger brother, Peter.¹⁵ The substantial Boulogne-Mortain-Dammartin honours fell, after Count Renaud overplayed his hand, through its heiress, to Philip’s younger son, Philippe Hurepel.¹⁶ Philip Augustus left much of the Norman ducal administration in place, especially the Norman exchequer court, though important posts in that administration were held by Frenchmen rather than Normans. If, at Philip’s death, Normandy was now merely a French province rather than the core patrimony of a great empire, it had

¹² ‘Chronicle of St Lo, Rouen’, in *RHGF*, XXIII, 395–96: ‘regni gubernatrice’; and ‘Bec Chronicle’, in *RHGF*, XXIII, 454: ‘Blanca, regnum francorum strenue gubernante’. See also *CN*, p. 87, no. 495, and p. 80, no. 478, letter from Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen, to ‘illustrissima domina Blancha, dei gratia Francorum regina, vices gerente pro rege’.

¹³ Daniel Power, ‘L’Établissement du régime capétien en Normandie: structures royales et réactions aristocratiques’, in *1204: La Normandie entre Plantagenêts et Capétiens*, ed. by Anne-Marie Flambard Héricher and Véronique Gazeau (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2007), pp. 319–43, esp. pp. 321–28; Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 442–66.

¹⁴ *CN*, p. 17, nos 96, 97. Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 172.

¹⁵ For Robert, see Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 455; for Peter, see Sidney Painter, *The Scourge of the Clergy: Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1937), pp. 7–10.

¹⁶ *CN*, p. 29, no. 176.

recovered from the ravages of long wars and the imposition of Angevin war finance and, particularly in the Seine Valley and the hinterlands of Caen, was enjoying a new prosperity.¹⁷

But changes in the 1220s threatened to destabilize the duchy. The first was the accession of Louis VIII. In 1216, Louis had invaded England, pursuing the claim, through Blanche, to the English throne, but the venture ended in 1217 in humiliating defeat. As part of the treaty, Louis had sworn on the Bible to do everything in his power to persuade his father to return his lost Angevin territories to Henry III — at least according to English accounts.¹⁸ As soon as he heard news of Philip's death, Henry III and his council sent the Archbishop of Canterbury to Louis to demand the return of Henry's overseas territories. Louis replied that he held Normandy and the other lands justly and would demonstrate this in his court if the King of England wanted to come and test the case.¹⁹ Nevertheless Henry and his advisers felt that they were now able to advance a strong moral claim to Normandy and the Angevin territories. Moreover, Henry was emerging from a difficult minority and could, for the first time, realistically pursue the claims. He did not finally concede the Angevin territories, Gascony apart, to the French king until the Treaty of Paris in 1259.

Ironically, just as Henry III emerged from his minority, France was plunged into one, with the unexpected death of Louis VIII and the accession of the young Louis IX under the tutelage of Blanche in 1226. As usual, a minority was an invitation for those who did not have wardship of the king and the realm to try to wrest it from those who did — and all could be done in the name of good governance without in any way attacking the majesty of the king himself. Blanche ruled with the aid and counsel of a small group of higher clergy, notably Walter Cornut, archbishop of Sens, and Walter, bishop of Chartres. With these were associated a group of lay courtiers, some drawn, like Matthew of Montmorency, from the old castellan families of the Capetian heartlands, others, like Bartholomew de Roye,

¹⁷ See comments in Charles Petit-Dutaillis, 'Querimoniae Normanorum', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. by Andrew G. Little and F. Maurice Powicke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925), pp. 99–118, esp. pp. 116–18; Power, 'L'Établissement'; Kathleen Thompson, 'Les Femmes dans la société normande après 1204', in *1204: La Normandie*, ed. by Héricher and Gazeau, pp. 345–56 (pp. 345–46); Lindy Grant, 'Les Repercussions de 1204 sur l'architecture et la sculpture normande', in *1204: La Normandie*, ed. by Héricher and Gazeau, pp. 389–400, and Lindy Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy, c.1120–c.1270* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 15–17, 229–34.

¹⁸ Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, II, 224.

¹⁹ Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, II, 224.

from the knightly families of the Île de France. In so doing she was ruling in the manner of both her husband and her father-in-law, and she inherited all her counsellors from her husband.²⁰ The great magnates had long resented this compliant group, and though none, after the dreadful fate of Reginald of Boulogne, had been prepared to challenge Philip Augustus, many of them probably hoped for a change under Louis VIII. No such change was forthcoming, and some of the baronial ring-leaders against Blanche had already begun to plot against Louis VIII before his death.²¹ Once the wardship of the realm was in the hands of a woman and a foreigner, baronial disaffection turned into open revolt across northern France. The very success with which Philip Augustus had embedded members of the extended Capetian family to stabilize Normandy, Brittany, and the Norman border zones, along with the ever-present threat of invasion by Henry III, meant that this area became a major focus of her attention for a good decade after 1226.²²

The most troublesome of all the great magnates was Peter of Dreux, count of Brittany in right of his wife. Peter not only held Brittany, adjoining Normandy, he had lands along the southern Norman border too, notably Saint James de Beuvron and the old Montgommery troublespot of Bellême. Peter was at the centre of all the uprisings and plots against Blanche, and it is telling that most of the treaties, truces, and other arrangements made to deal with or contain Peter have Blanche's name attached to them, along with that of the young King.²³ Peter was in open rebellion by early 1227, and he was only finally contained in 1236. Sidney Painter has provided a brilliant narrative of Peter's compulsive plotting and occasional chevauchées; here it will suffice to give a brief outline.

Peter had begun to intrigue with Henry III before Louis VIII's death, hoping to marry his daughter Yolande to Henry. Blanche put a stop to that at the Treaty of Vendôme in 1227. There was some Norman disaffection with which Peter could work. A handful of Normans came to England at Christmas 1228, to persuade Henry III to invade the duchy.²⁴ By summer 1229, Peter himself was encouraging Henry to recapture Normandy and the old Angevin lands. By the end of the year,

²⁰ For the counsellors of Louis VIII, see Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII: 1187–1226* (Paris: Bouillon, 1894), pp. 334–40.

²¹ Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII*, pp. 323–27; Painter, *Scourge of the Clergy*, pp. 38–42.

²² For a full account of the baronial revolts, see Painter, *Scourge of the Clergy*, pp. 42–48, 55–88, and Élie Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille* (Paris: Thorin, 1895), pp. 71–91, 120–28.

²³ E.g. *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet, II, 276–77, nos 2319, 2320, peace of 1234.

²⁴ Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, II, 355.

Peter was again in open revolt, supported by lords from the far south-west of Normandy, led by Fulk Paynel, lord of Hambye.²⁵ In May 1230, Henry landed at Saint-Malo, but marched down to establish himself on the Loire at Nantes, so that the focus of the fighting shifted to Anjou and Poitou, rather than Normandy.²⁶ Peter and Henry's plans were not well coordinated. Blanche and young Louis captured Peter's key possession of Bellême in the early months of the year, so that they could concentrate on defending Angers when Henry finally landed in the summer. Henry did not distinguish himself on the Loire, while André de Vitry, with Blanche's encouragement, attacked Peter from the north-east. By August 1230, Peter had to make a truce with Blanche. In October, Henry III retired to England, having achieved nothing of consequence.²⁷

Earl Ranulf of Chester and Earl William Marshal of Pembroke stayed in Brittany with Peter. The three of them caused enough local havoc — with a series of chevauchées in the Avranchin — to incite Blanche to action. In the following summer, 1231, she and Louis gathered an army to invade Brittany via western Normandy. Peter again came to terms quite quickly, and a three-year truce, the Truce of Saint-Aubin, by which Peter was confined to Brittany, was arranged. In summer 1234, as the truce expired, Peter, backed by money from Henry III but no promise of invasion, ravaged the lands of his Breton enemies.²⁸ In November, he sued for peace and agreed to renounce his claims to lands in the Norman border zones at Saint-James de Beuvron, Perrières, and Bellême. The summer campaigning season of 1235 saw the old soldier once again looking dangerous, but this time he was persuaded rapidly to a final peace treaty.

In the end all Peter's plots disintegrated, not least through the vacillations and inadequacy of Henry III. But Blanche worked hard to counter them. She reinforced Philip Augustus's Norman settlement, rewarding the French *baillis* and officers, further embedding them in Norman society, and tying as much of the Norman and Franco-Norman aristocracy to her as she could, with concentrations of activity in 1227, the summer of 1231, and then again in 1234 at the expiry of the truce of Saint-Aubin. French administrators directly involved in the wars in the south-west of the duchy, including Jean de Fricamps, the *bailli* of the Cotentin, Ralph de Tillye, the castellan of Avranches, and Jean des Vignes, the *bailli* of Rouen, who

²⁵ Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, III, 5.

²⁶ Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, II, 384; III, 6.

²⁷ Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, III, 5–13.

²⁸ Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur*, ed. by Hewlett, III, 93–95.

had led the royal army against the Paynels, were rewarded with substantial Norman properties in the summer of 1231.²⁹ In 1227, Blanche released Philip Augustus's old mercenary and administrator Cadurc, imprisoned for peculation. This was clearly her initiative, for her name is mentioned continually in Cadurc's agreement for future good behaviour.³⁰ The list of those who stood surety for Cadurc, moreover, is also addressed to Blanche as well as the young King.³¹ She could hope to count on Cadurc's gratitude; she was certainly able to benefit from the huge amount that he paid for his freedom. The list of sureties probably reflects the aristocracy she felt she could rely on at this early stage in her regency. Most were Franco-Normans, like Amaury de Meulan, and those from the valley of the lower Oise or Vexin or Mantois who had acquired lands in eastern Normandy, including the Mauvoisin and Poissy families. The list also included a couple of the second rank of Norman nobles who had stayed after 1204, such as the lord of L'Aigle and Robert of Ivry. Most of these men came from the Vexin and the Evreçin, areas that had long been border zones, and where French influence had always been strong.

In 1234 Blanche arranged the marriage of one of her ladies-in-waiting to the son of William de Minières, lord of Corneil near Damville, though the immediate results were not the establishment of good will between crown and local aristocracy. William complained in the Norman inquests of 1247 that he could not afford to provide for the couple, that his lands had been wasted by royal agents, and that he wanted the King, 'with the counsel of his beloved mother', to quit him of *tierce* and *danger*.³² Blanche may already have tried to help William, for in 1241–42 he sold a substantial amount of land to John de la Cour, dean of Saint Martin of Tours, chaplain to Saint Louis, at Blanche's abbey of Maubuisson; nevertheless, the situation remained unresolved in 1247.³³ More successfully, in June 1234, Blanche arranged for the marriage of another of her ladies, Odelina, to Robert de Montfort-sur-Risle.³⁴ The lords of Montfort-sur-Risle were quite substantial members of the

²⁹ *CN*, pp. 60–61, nos 378, 379, 380, 381.

³⁰ *CN*, pp. 55–56, no. 363.

³¹ *CN*, p. 57, no. 366.

³² For *tierce* and *danger*, see the discussion of this 'difficult question' in Joseph R. Strayer, *The Administration of Normandy under Saint Louis* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1932), pp. 76–80. They appear to be levies on the sale of wood, or levies paid to be able to sell the wood from one's own woodland.

³³ 'Querimoniae Normannorum', in *RHGF*, XXIV, 33, no. 255. *CN*, pp. 318–19, no. 1162.

³⁴ *CN*, p. 65, no. 408.

old Norman aristocracy and had initially retreated to England after 1204.³⁵ If they were returning now, they must be tied tightly to the Capetian court, not left to dally with the Angevin faction.

There was a Breton relevance to this last marriage, for the lords of Montfort-sur-Risle were related by marriage to the lords of Fougères.³⁶ The marriage of Odelina must therefore have been directly linked to the complex management of the aristocracy in the Avranchin and southern Cotentin, the area most at risk from Peter himself, where support for an Angevin invasion was concentrated. In October 1230, Louis knighted the young Ralph of Fougères, recently out of his minority and ideally placed to pressurize and contain Peter of Brittany.³⁷ In March 1231, Ralph came to Athis-sur-Orge, south of Paris, to do homage to Louis, and to agree that Louis could hold and garrison his castle of Fougères.³⁸ Ralph brought with him, as witness and security, his uncle, Fulk Paynel, detached with remarkable speed from his allegiance to Henry III.³⁹ In June 1235, just as Peter was finally being brought to terms, Ralph quarrelled with Guy Mauvoisin, one of the lesser aristocrats from the Mantois who had benefitted from the Capetian capture of Normandy.⁴⁰ The complex arrangements to resolve it were all made at Crèpy-en-Valois, 'before the lord king and in the presence of his mother the queen'; presumably Blanche's direct involvement reflects the importance that this knightly squabble assumed in the broader political context of the time.⁴¹ André de Vitry was another ally in this disputed corner of their realm. From the summer campaigning season of 1230, Blanche and Louis had ensured that André de Vitry was attached to their cause, giving him lands in Normandy to add to his family territories in Mayenne.⁴² Another such recruit was Henry d'Avagour and his wife, one of the heiresses of Juhel of Mayenne. Negotiations for a safely fortified house near Pontorson, for Henry and his wife in September 1233, were ratified at Fontainbleau, in the presence of Blanche as well as the King.⁴³

³⁵ Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 346.

³⁶ Power, *Norman Frontier*, pp. 251–52.

³⁷ 'E chronico Savigniacensi', in *RHGF*, XXIII, 585.

³⁸ *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet, II, 201–02, no. 2128.

³⁹ *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet, II, 202, no. 2129.

⁴⁰ For the Mauvoisin, see Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 507.

⁴¹ *CN*, pp. 67–68, nos 416–20.

⁴² *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet, II, 178–79, nos 2057, 2058.

⁴³ *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. by Teulet, II, 255, no. 2233; 256, no. 2255.

In all this, Blanche followed an enterprising strategy of courting, supporting, or buying off those within or on the edges of Normandy whose interests could be served by an alliance with Blanche and Louis, or at least by attacking or countering Peter of Brittany. The greatest of the Capetian magnates in Normandy, members of the extended Capetian family, were more difficult to deal with, and her policy here was pragmatic. Fortunately, Robert de Courtenay, lord of the strategically placed lordships of Conches and Nonancourt, does not seem to have joined Peter's revolts. Peter of Brittany's brother, Count Robert of Dreux, supported Peter sometimes, but he did not do so consistently, and rarely openly. Blanche seems to have bought his quasi-neutrality. Robert had long held some Norman properties, and Philip Augustus had married him to the heiress of the Anglo-Norman-Ponthevin baron, Bernard of Saint-Valéry. In July 1227, in the aftermath of bringing Peter to terms at the Treaty of Vendôme, Blanche gave Count Robert a substantial set of properties in the Pays de Caux in compensation for English properties lost as a result of 1204.⁴⁴ Philippe Hurepel was the King's uncle and had some reason, not least the precedent of the arrangements when Philip Augustus went on Crusade, to think that he should have been assigned an active role in the wardship of the young King, and his relationship with Blanche was always uneasy. He often plotted with Peter of Brittany and sometimes joined forces with him, but he was usually careful to retain his place at court. Like Count Robert, but to a much greater extent, Philip had a huge property base in Normandy. He was one of the great winners of the 1204 settlement. He held the county of Mortain (though the king always insisted in retaining the castle), the honour of Domfront, and, in Upper Normandy, Lillebonne and properties around Alizay near the royal palace at Pont de L'Arche.⁴⁵ The Norman wealth of Philippe Hurepel and Robert of Dreux, acquired by marriage to Norman heiresses, tied them in to Capetian interests; it was by no means certain that the re-establishment of an Anglo-Norman realm would see them restored to the English honours to which their wives might lay claim, for in the last twenty years those had been assigned to others — as Blanche's gift to Count Robert served to remind them.

That Blanche could give yet more property in Normandy to Robert in 1227 suggests that she understood this delicate balance. Indeed, it appears that she was even prepared to let both men play a role in what might be called the governance of the

⁴⁴ *CN*, p. 55, no. 361, full text on p. 311.

⁴⁵ *CN*, p. 29, no. 176, gift of Philip Augustus; p. 47, no. 315, confirmation by Louis VIII, slightly reducing Philip's Norman lands; p. 54, no. 357, confirmation by Louis IX.

duchy. Fragmentary royal accounts for May 1227 include the costs for the king's wine in Normandy, at the two royal palaces of Vernon and Pont de l'Arche. The King's own wine expenses are noted, as are those for the exchequer court; alongside them are expenses for Counts Robert of Dreux and Philip of Boulogne.⁴⁶ The context suggests that both men were in Normandy in some sort of official capacity.

The duchy was not treated as an appanage in the way that Anjou was. Normandy belonged to and was administered by the king and his bailiffs. But it was a huge addition to the Capetian administrative machine. The king could not be present frequently, and it may be that Blanche and Louis intended these Capetian family members to provide a more consistent Capetian presence, in the way that Henry II had used his mother, the Empress Matilda, as an almost vice-regal presence in the duchy until her death in 1167. Blanche herself may occasionally have fulfilled such a role. One of the *Querimoniae* shows her holding court to judge Norman cases alongside Bartholomew de Roye sometime between 1228 and 1237, to determine whether someone was of knightly rank or merely burgher status.⁴⁷ In 1233, Blanche and Philip Hurepel resolved a dispute between Robert Malet and the Countess of Ponthieu over the Alençon inheritance, sitting at 'Beaumont' — which may have been Beaumont-le-Roger in Normandy, but may equally have been Beaumont-sur-Oise.⁴⁸

Blanche was famous for her piety, and it is here that one might have expected her to have presented herself most obviously as the new embodiment of her ancestors, the duchesses of Normandy. But her relationship with the Norman church was marked by confrontation. In 1233, Louis, presumably directed by Blanche, rejected the abbess supported by Archbishop Maurice of Rouen after a disputed election at the nunnery of Montivilliers. The Archbishop excommunicated the nuns who took the royal part.⁴⁹ Here at least was involvement in a venerable ducal foundation, though the intransigence and the depth of involvement is surprising. Blanche was a great patron of Cistercian nuns, and it is possible that she hoped to force the nuns of Montivilliers to attach themselves to the Cistercian order. The situation was resolved three years later by the new archbishop, Peter of Colmieu,

⁴⁶ *CN*, pp. 55, 360.

⁴⁷ 'Querimoniae Normannorum', in *RHGF*, XXIV, 45, no. 19. The case was heard 'coram domina regina et Barth de Roya'. See discussion in Petit-Dutaillis, 'Querimoniae Normanorum', p. 113.

⁴⁸ *CN*, p. 314, no. 1149.

⁴⁹ 'E chronico Rotomagensi', in *RHGF*, XXIII, 334.

who brought in an abbess from the Brie.⁵⁰ When Saint Louis was away on Crusade, Blanche earned the impotent hatred of the monks of Lyre, who claimed that she had given to her new foundation of Maubuisson, just outside Pontoise, properties in the forest of Breteuil, where they were intending to build a new chapel. The monks were unwise to challenge her on the great project of her later years — the house in which she intended to be buried — and some were exiled to Saint-Wandrille as a result.⁵¹ And after Blanche's death, Louis continued to support the nuns of Maubuisson rather than the monks of Lyre.⁵²

The Montivilliers election was not her first confrontation with the Archbishop of Rouen. She clashed with Archbishop Theobald in spring 1227, shortly after she had first outmanoeuvred Peter of Dreux, over rights in the forest of Louviers.⁵³ The Archbishop excommunicated the *bailli* of Vaudreuil for taking timber. Blanche and Louis summoned the Archbishop to the King's court at Vernon, insisting that the excommunication of the *bailli* injured the King and that the Archbishop had limited rights to timber in the forest of Louviers anyway. The Archbishop was also accused of excommunicating the dean and chapter of Gournay, who were under royal protection, and of failing to attend the Norman exchequer court to answer, as other bishops and barons of Normandy did.⁵⁴ The Archbishop came to court but proved recalcitrant. These were spiritual issues, he claimed, and since he did not hold anything 'feodale' from the King, there was no reason why he should be summoned to the King's court. Louis and Blanche were both, as well they might be, furious: 'Rex et regina valde irati fuerunt' — which makes explicit Blanche's participation in the affair. The Archbishop was again called to the royal court — this time a full court with the King's barons. The Archbishop was implacable, insisting that he held his lands not as fiefs, but in pure alms. With the counsel of the barons, Louis and Blanche confiscated the archiepiscopal rents and secular possessions. The Archbishop, in return, cast an interdict over the royal demesne lands and

⁵⁰ 'E chronico Rotomagensi', in *RHGF*, XXIII, 337.

⁵¹ See *RHGF*, XXIII, 469–70, for the Lyre Chronicle account; and *CN*, pp. 76–77, no. 462, for Saint Louis's act confirming properties in the king's forests in Normandy to Maubuisson.

⁵² *CN*, p. 98, no. 540, act of February 1255/56, reconfirming no. 462.

⁵³ For this protracted and complicated case, see the account in the Rouen chronicle, *RHGF*, XXIII, 332–33, 334–36, and the commentary of Gerard Campbell, 'The Attitude of the Monarchy toward the Use of Ecclesiastical Censures in the Reign of Saint Louis', *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 535–55 (pp. 538–41).

⁵⁴ Louis was at Vernon in May and July 1227, and the court was presumably held in one of those months; see *CN*, p. 55, nos 360, 361, 362.

castles in the archdiocese and appealed to Rome. Rome supported the Archbishop, and Blanche and Louis had to accept temporary defeat.

They did not forget the forest issue, and there were other, unnamed disputes, including, presumably, the Montivilliers election. On account of these, in July 1233, Louis seized the regalia of the Archbishop. Archbishop Maurice retaliated by putting the archdiocese under interdict, which was not lifted until October 1234.⁵⁵ The interdict affected the royal *baillis*, their families and chaplains, and the royal chapels, though it was to be suspended if the King or Queen happened to be in residence. This was a serious consideration. Louis and Blanche were not often in the palaces in Normandy proper, but their much-used palace at Pontoise fell within the archdiocese of Rouen, though not within the duchy. To make his fury register more powerfully, and to ensure a successful resolution, the Archbishop ordered that images of the Virgin should be taken from the altar, placed on the floor in front of it, and surrounded by thorns until the King should be moved to concede. It was an old-fashioned response, but a pointed one, for Blanche was, according to the Chartres obituary, particularly devoted to the Virgin.⁵⁶ Blanche and Louis presumably came to an accommodation with the irate Archbishop in the summer of 1234, when they spent so much time in Normandy cornering Peter of Dreux.

It is unclear why relations with Archbishops Theobald and Maurice of Rouen were so fractious. Both archbishops insisted they were protecting the liberties of the Norman church, and there is evidence in the disputed elections that followed both of their deaths that a 'Norman' party was growing among the canons of the cathedral.⁵⁷ But neither man was Norman. Theobald was from Amiens, and Maurice a reform-minded French Benedictine monk, moved from the bishopric of Le Mans to Rouen on the initiative of Pope Gregory IX, the sort of bishop whom Blanche generally found sympathetic. Blanche must, nevertheless, have been relieved when Maurice was succeeded by a series of churchmen who had good connections with the Capetian court: Peter of Collemezzo, an Italian but one who had spent the 1220s in Paris, followed by Eudes Clement, abbot of Saint Denis,

⁵⁵ CN, p. 65, no. 405.

⁵⁶ RHGF, XXIII, 334–36, for the narrative. Her anniversary at Chartres Cathedral records her devotion to the Virgin: *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. by Ernest de Lépinos and Lucien Merlet, 3 vols (Chartres: Société archéologique d'Eure et Loir, 1862–65), III, 213. Patrick Geary, 'L'Humiliation des saints', *Annales ESC*, 34 (1979), 27–42.

⁵⁷ RHGF, XXIII, 333, for the election of Thomas of Fréauville in 1231, p. 336 for the dispute in 1234. See *Fasti ecclesiae Gallicanae*, vol. II: *Le Diocèse de Rouen*, ed. by Vincent Tabbagh (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 80–84, for the archbishops, their backgrounds, and the elections.

then the Franciscan Eudes Rigaud, with whom Blanche worked closely and productively when Louis was on Crusade.⁵⁸

These confrontations were not offset by generosity. Blanche seems to have felt no need to appropriate and commemorate the patronage of her Anglo-Norman and Angevin ancestors to the Norman church. This is surprising: many of the French who acquired Norman lands after 1204, either through gift or through marriage to heiresses, took up the role of protector and patron of Norman abbeys from the Anglo-Norman dynasties they had displaced.⁵⁹ Blanche was remembered in few Norman necrologies — and certainly not in that of Rouen cathedral.⁶⁰ Where she was generous, it was to institutions which had nothing to do with ducal Normandy. One was the Franciscan house at Rouen, founded by her son in 1232, perhaps with her active involvement; at least they agreed to Louis's request in 1243 that they celebrate her anniversary in the way otherwise reserved for Louis himself and the master of the order.⁶¹ The other was the relatively modest Cistercian nunnery of Le Trésor. Cistercian nuns were a strong personal interest: her parents had founded the nunnery of Las Huelgas as their burial house; Blanche herself would found Maubuisson and Le Lys as hers. Le Trésor was founded in 1228 by a minor local lord, though with the encouragement of Blanche's enemy, Archbishop Maurice. It was on the very edge of Normandy, above the Epte, close to the royal palaces at Vernon and Pontoise, and the nuns came, not from any of the Norman Cistercian nunneries, but from Hispania in the diocese of Amiens. Louis regularly confirmed gifts to the nunnery, in 1231, 1239, and 1241.⁶² In March 1243 Louis made a gift, for the souls of himself, Blanche, and his father, while Blanche herself gave 40 *livres* per year, to be taken from her dower revenues in the *prevôté* of Meulan, for pittances to celebrate her own and her son's anniversaries.⁶³ The following month, when Louis settled a dispute between Ralph Mauvoisin and Robin of Ivry, he declared that Robin must pay an annual revenue of 15 *livres* for a chaplaincy, to be assigned at Blanche's behest. Since the act recording the settlement

⁵⁸ For these three archbishops, see *Fasti ecclesiae Gallicanae*, vol. II, ed. by Tabbagh, pp. 84–89. For Blanche and Eudes Rigaud, see e.g. *CN*, p. 80, no. 478 and p. 90, no. 502.

⁵⁹ Grant, *Architecture and Society*, p. 41; Grant, 'Les Repercussions', pp. 397–98.

⁶⁰ Louis set up a series of commemorations for her during his visits to Normandy in 1256/57: at Sées, *CN*, p. 103, no. 558; Avranches, *CN*, pp. 101–02, no. 554; at Évreux, he insisted that the existing anniversary be entered in the martyrology, *CN*, p. 109, no. 590.

⁶¹ *CN*, p. 74, nos 450, 451.

⁶² *CN*, p. 313, no. 1146; p. 317, no. 1159; p. 318, no. 1161.

⁶³ *CN*, p. 319, no. 1164; pp. 319–20, no. 1167.

survives in the Le Trésor cartulary, Blanche must have assigned the money to the work of her favoured Norman nunnery.⁶⁴ Finally, to the distress of the abbey of Lyre, she and Louis gave substantial properties in the Evreçin to her own foundation of Maubuisson below Pontoise.

'In herself the guarantee of peace' between Normandy and France, and the means by which Philip Augustus hoped, according to Rigord, to claim the duchy, Blanche seems to have had little sense of embodying the ducal succession in Normandy. She went to the far west, to the area where her mother was born, only when Peter of Dreux's revolts demanded it. She did not otherwise travel widely around the duchy visiting important houses established in the ducal period, as Saint Louis did in the late 1250s — though those visits were undoubtedly intended to settle western Normandy ahead of the Treaty of Paris in 1259.⁶⁵ Blanche's ecclesiastical patronage seems designed to reject ducal Normandy and the traditions of her forbears. But she seems to have felt at home in the corner of the Evreçin and Vexin around Vernon, patronizing the nunnery at Le Trésor, and endowing her own house of Maubuisson in the area. She was prepared to establish two of her ladies in Normandy, which perhaps suggests she spent more time in the duchy than the sources reveal. Then there is the fleeting suggestion in the *Querimoniae* that she may have sat in judgement in Normandy in the 1230s, along with Bartholomew de Roye, in her Norman 'comfort zone', the forest of Breteuil. If she seems to have been less than receptive to the past of her Norman ancestors, here at least are suggestions that she played for the maturing Louis IX a shadow of the role that her great-grandmother, the Empress Matilda, had played for Henry II in assuring the governance of the duchy of Normandy.

⁶⁴ CN, p. 319, no. 1165. For discussion of the foundation and architecture of Le Trésor, see Grant, *Architecture and Society*, pp. 207–08.

⁶⁵ For Saint Louis's itinerary in Normandy, see RHGF, XXI, 408–23 and CN, p. 99, no. 543n. and see the comments in the Savigny Chronicle in RHGF, XXIII, 585.

The Writing of History

ARCHBISHOP EALDRED AND THE D CHRONICLE

Pauline Stafford

Ealdred, archbishop of York, was a key figure in 1066. His consecration of William as an English king accepted the latter into the tradition of English kingship, simultaneously marginalizing other candidates, most notably Eadgar the æpeling. It did more to legitimize William than any other single action. Ealdred himself is thus central to the elucidation of events late in 1066. Much has been written about him.¹ Amongst this material are studies of his relationship with the vernacular chronicle now usually referred to as 'D'.² A historical consensus has emerged that there is a link between D and Ealdred. In a typically wide-ranging and thought-provoking lecture, Patrick Wormald recently concluded that D was so close to Ealdred that much about that chronicle can be explained by 'what Ealdred is known or likely to have done and thought'.³ Yet, the entry in D under the year 1068 gives reason to pause. The death of Ealdred is recorded under that year on the

¹ Janet M. Cooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*, Borthwick Papers, 38 (York: St Anthony's Press, 1970), Michael Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS Cotton Vitellius E.XII', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 55 (1983), 11–25; Vanessa King, 'Ealdred, Archbishop of York: The Worcester Years', *ANS*, 18 (1995), 123–37.

² Ivor Atkins, 'The Origin of the Later Part of the Saxon Chronicle known as D', *EHR*, 55 (1940), 8–26; Henry Howorth, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Its Origins and History, Part III', *Archaeological Journal*, 69 (1912), 312–70; Frank M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 690; Dorothy Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, I, 2nd edn (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979), pp. 114–15; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, ed. by David Dumville and Simon Keynes (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1983–), vol. VI: *MS D*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (1996), pp. lxxviii–lxxix — though cf. Charles Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), p. lxxvi and n. 2.

³ Patrick Wormald, *How Do We Know So Much About Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?*, Deerhurst lecture 1991 (Deerhurst: Friends of Deerhurst Church, 1993), p. 15.

feast of Saints Protus and Iacynth (i.e. 11 September), having held his archbishopric with great honour for ten years less fifteen weeks. Ealdred, however, died in 1069 not 1068. And ten years less fifteen weeks from his accession to the archbishopric at Christmas 1060/early 1061 takes us to September 1070.⁴ Something has gone wrong with D's chronology, and even more fundamentally with its calculations of his archiepiscopal reign. This entry was obviously written after Ealdred's death, but more importantly, by someone without a firm grasp on the chronology of his life. The entry is not inconsistent with a chronicle made in some part for Ealdred, or by someone close to him. But it does raise questions about Chronicle D, as we now have it, and any such chronicle.

D '*as we now have it*' obviously cannot simply be a chronicle associated with Ealdred during his own lifetime.⁵ D continues for a decade or more after 1069. But some of D's entries pre-1069 may not reflect that chronicle's state even before the Archbishop's death. Frank Stenton felt that the later section of D was 'originally composed' in Ealdred's household, but argued, on the ground of content, that the manuscript was in 'its final form' destined for the Scottish court.⁶ Dorothy Whitelock favoured a York provenance for D, both in its earlier stages of development and in its mid- to later eleventh-century sections.⁷ But the extensive treatment of

⁴ Ealdred's archiepiscopal succession is 1061 in *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. by Edmund B. Fryde and others, 3rd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), p. 224. His predecessor, Archbishop Cynesige, died on 11 Kal. January 1060, according to Chronicle D. This might appear to be 22 December 1059, which would be in line with D's calculation *s.a.* 1068/*recte* 1069 (the 1068 annal is a composite narrative of material earlier recorded under 1068, 1069, and perhaps 1070 — see below). Charters do not provide unambiguous dates. S 1029, dated 1060, for Peterborough, has Ealdred as Archbishop as does S 1030 for Ramsey. S 1031 for Westminster, dated 1060, has Cynesige as Archbishop. The first two charters pose problems, S 1031 is an apparent original; Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (sic)', *ANS*, 10 (1987), 185–222 (pp. 207 n. 126 and 213 n. 167). Ealdred was in Rome in quest of his pallium in 1061, D *s.a.*, but corroborated by *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. and trans. by Frank Barlow, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 52–54, where Ealdred was in Rome at the same time as Giso. Independent papal sources put Giso in Rome at Easter 1061. So Ealdred's accession is Christmas 1060 at the earliest, and possibly early 1061. D's 11 Kal. January 1060 should be read as 22 December 1060. The miscalculation of D 1068 may be based on (mis)reading this as 1059.

⁵ Quotation and italics are Plummer's, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, p. lxxix. They require reiteration.

⁶ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 690.

⁷ Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, I, 114–15. She quotes, without explicitly endorsing, the suggestion that 'in its later section it originates from a member of [Ealdred's] household', and Stenton's views on the manuscript and the Scottish court.

Margaret of Scotland in D's 1067 entry impressed her, as it did Plummer, as requiring a date for the final production of D after Margaret's death in 1093.⁸ Wormald was equally well aware that the chronicle *as we now have it* contains, at very least, material both composed and copied after Ealdred's death. D could thus have been compiled 'very largely from sources associated with Ealdred'.⁹ Whether or not we agree with their specific conclusions, all these scholars remind us that earlier stages and sources lie behind the surviving manuscript.

These arguments matter beyond the study of vernacular chronicles and their development. Recent work on history writing in the early Middle Ages has emphasized its ideological nature and function.¹⁰ A chronicle produced close to or for Ealdred could, as Patrick Wormald knew, give insight into the nature and formation of the Archbishop's attitudes and ideas. The existence of such a chronicle and its precise shape and stages of development are thus of wider interest. This paper cannot hope to resolve the many problems posed by the development of D, or even by its mid-eleventh-century development, tied as that is to the complex inter-relationships of the vernacular chronicles in the eleventh century. Its aim is to consider the state of current scholarship, and to examine some of the evidence linking D to Ealdred and/or his household. It will urge a more open approach to this complex chronicle, but also a re-examination of what we mean by its link to Ealdred. Both aims have implications for those who would use it to assess the Archbishop and his actions.

Ealdred himself is well known from the sources.¹¹ His early career was as a monk of Winchester. He appears as successor to Lyfing as Abbot of Tavistock in 1027, when his predecessor was appointed Bishop of Devon and Cornwall. He may have been involved in some capacity with the see of Worcester as early as 1044, and he succeeded Lyfing (once again) as its bishop in 1046. In 1056 he took over as Bishop of Hereford, a see which he held until his translation to York. He seems also briefly to have held the abbey of Winchcombe from 1053 to 1054, and the bishopric of Ramsbury during Hermann's absence from 1055 to 1058. During the late 1040s

⁸ Cf. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, p. lxxviii. This led her to argue that Ker's dating of the penultimate hand of the MS, which wrote annals 1071–79, as more or less contemporary with their composition was too early.

⁹ Wormald, *How Do We Know*, p. 16.

¹⁰ See e.g. *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), *passim*, but especially 'Introduction', pp. 1–8.

¹¹ See note 1 above; also Michael K. Lawson, 'Ealdred (d. 1069)', rev. by Vanessa King, *ODNB*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37382>>; Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1000–1066* (London: Longmans, 1963), pp. 86–90.

and 1050s Ealdred played a role in relations with the Welsh kings to the west, sometimes as a peace-maker. Ealdred's significance in royal counsels is clear. He acted as one of King Edward's envoys to Rome in 1050, and to the Empire in 1054. There his business involved orchestrating the return of the King's kin and potential successors, the grandchild and great-grandchildren of King Æthelred II — Edward, son of King Edmund (Ironside), and his family, which included Eadgar the æpeling and his sister Margaret.

Ealdred's appointment to York in 1060/61 took him to one of the most politically important, though not one of the wealthiest, sees in the kingdom. It was one with a long history of significance in the rule of Northumbria.¹² Its holders have been seen as prince-archbishops.¹³ In the mid-tenth century Archbishop Wulfstan I (931–51/56) had been a key player in Northumbrian politics, in particular in the politics of the last stages of the independent kingdom of York and in the struggles between southern and Scandinavian kings for control of it.¹⁴ The appointment in 1060/61 of a Bishop of Worcester to the see was no novelty. It renewed a link which had been established in the late tenth century in the person of Archbishop Oswald (Worcester 961/York 971–92), continued by Archbishop Ealdwulf, who moved from the abbacy of Peterborough to Worcester in 992, adding York by 995, and again in the person of Archbishop Wulfstan (I of Worcester, II of York). Wulfstan took over both sees after Ealdwulf's death in 1002, holding Worcester until he resigned it in 1016 and York until his death in 1023. This second Wulfstan had been a key political figure at the court of Æthelred II and in the events which followed the victory and takeover of the Danish king, Cnut, in 1016. He played a significant role in the management of this conquest and in the transition to the conqueror's regime.¹⁵ Wulfstan gave up Worcester in 1016, and the two sees had then been held separately until 1061, though obscure events in 1040–41 had briefly united

¹² Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959), pp. 70–88; David Rollason, *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹³ Rollason, *Northumbria*, pp. 207 and 229; see also Barlow, *English Church*, p. 86, for Ealdred as 'prince-bishop'.

¹⁴ Clare Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2007), esp. pp. 108–15.

¹⁵ Michael K. Lawson, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut', *EHR*, 107 (1992), 565–86, and Pauline Stafford, 'The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises', *ASE*, 10 (1982), 173–90.

them again in the hands of Archbishop Ælfric (of York, 1023–51). Ealdred retained the see of Worcester after his appointment to York, but relinquished it (in 1062), after his visit to Rome in 1061 to collect the pallium. He nonetheless retained lands and influence in the Worcester diocese well into the time of his successor, Bishop — later Saint — Wulfstan (II of Worcester).¹⁶

Ealdred was thus a man whose career had been at the centre of English political life long before 1066. His appointment to York had briefly revived the pluralism of Worcester/York. Even after relinquishing Worcester, his active interest in that diocese continued. That same appointment placed him in a line of very significant archbishops, sometimes quasi-independent players in the politics of Northumbria. Since the later tenth century, these archbishops had been critical to the establishment and maintenance of southern rule North of the Humber.¹⁷ Within living memory Ealdred's predecessor at both York and Worcester, Wulfstan, had been a dominant figure not only at court but also in the years of Danish attack, conquest, and takeover.

Thus Ealdred; Chronicle D also requires its own brief introduction. D is a vernacular chronicle, one of the seven surviving inter-related chronicles which are collectively known as the [*sic*] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. All these chronicles are anonymous; all are difficult to date and place; all, at least as we now have them, are the final products of long processes of composition, continuation, and collation.¹⁸ They have been given a variety of more or less misleading names. I will refer to them throughout by MS letter — A–G — as is becoming standard practice. Three, Chronicles C, D, and E, extend beyond the late tenth century to give more or less full accounts of eleventh-century events.¹⁹ D as we now have it is the fullest of the vernacular chronicles for the period which it covers, that is to AD 1079. E, often called the 'Peterborough Chronicle', extends well beyond 1079 but is thinner than D in some of its earlier sections.²⁰

¹⁶ See e.g. Ann Williams, 'The Cunning of the Dove: Wulfstan and the Politics of Accommodation', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and Nicholas P. Brooks, *Studies in Early Medieval Britain*, 4 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 23–38 (pp. 25–26).

¹⁷ Whitelock, 'Dealing of the Kings of England'.

¹⁸ Fuller discussion of the problems of study in Pauline Stafford, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Identity and the Making of England', *HSJ*, 19 (2007), 28–50. New editions in the series *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* are opening up modern study, but are far from resolving all the problems.

¹⁹ *ASC: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. v: *MSC*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001).

²⁰ *ASC: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. vii: *MSE*, ed. by Susan Irvine (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004) with full introduction.

Chronicle D occupies folios 3–86 of BL, MS Cotton Tiberius B IV.²¹ No other works form part of this manuscript as it now survives; folio 87 is a leaf from the Canterbury manuscript Lambeth Palace 771, the Maelbright MacDurnan Gospels, containing two writs of Cnut concerning Archbishop Æþelnoð.²² By the sixteenth century MS Cotton Tiberius B IV was at Worcester, but that is not necessarily a guide to the place of any stage of its composition and production. D ends in 1079, breaking off abruptly in a half folio; but the dorse of its final folio suggests that it did not extend much beyond what we now have. D appears to have lost two quires covering the years AD 262–692/93.²³ Folios 68–73, mid-annal AD 1016 to mid-annal 1052 (1), replace another lost section.²⁴ This replacement was made very close to the final date of the manuscript; the hand of the bulk of this section is probably that which wrote the final annals.²⁵

The palaeography of D provides no simple answers to the chronicle's date or development. There is consensus that D is written in a number of mid- or late eleventh-century hands, but less agreement about their number, their date, the precise points at which they change, or the significance of those changes.²⁶ 'Written/wrote'

²¹ Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 192, pp. 253–55.

²² David Dumville, 'Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing at Canterbury in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries', *Peritia*, 2 (1983), 23–57 (p. 53), on the probable joining of this leaf at Canterbury to D, perhaps as early as the mid-twelfth century. Nicholas Brooks points out to me, however, that 'there is every reason to suppose that its separation from its parent manuscript and insertion into the D *Annals* occurred in the course of 17th-century rebinding, for (pace Dumville) it is scarcely likely that Christ Church monks would have dismembered one of their prized altar-books, removed from it a leaf containing two of their writ-charters in order to insert the leaf into a manuscript of annals, lacking the authority provided by a gospel-book'. For these writs, see *The Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. by N. P. Brooks and S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 16–18 (forthcoming), nos 156, 157. There is thus no manuscript argument to associate D with Canterbury.

²³ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 254.

²⁴ The copying of this section means that there are two annals dated 1052.

²⁵ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 254.

²⁶ The manuscript has been much discussed; see Howorth, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', pp. 337–38, and *ASC*, VI: *MS D*, ed. by Cubbin; Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, no. 192, pp. 253–55; Wolfgang Keller, *Die litterarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in angelsächsischer Zeit* (Strasbourg: K. J. Trübner, 1900); Timofey V. Guimon, 'The Writing of Annals in Eleventh-Century England: Palaeography and Textual History', in *Writing Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (Cambridge: Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 2006), pp. 137–45.

means simply that: the scribal activities of writing or copying, not the authorial one of composing annals. Scribal stints, that is, bouts of scribal activity, in the production of chronicles *may* correspond to bouts of authorial activity in composing annals, and they *may* be related to activities like collation. But they bear no necessary relationship to either. It is especially dangerous, if all too easy, to slip from changes of scribe, scribal stints, to stages of composition. That temptation must be rigorously resisted, at least as an *a priori* assumption.²⁷

There is agreement that all the hands in D date from the second half of the eleventh century, but palaeographers are divided over whether the annals covering the years to the 1060s were written before or after 1066, and over the number of hands from the 1050s onwards and their precise changeover points. The scribes who wrote the annals for 1066 if not 1065 onwards are probably post-1066, and may also have written 1067–68 (*recte* 1070) though there are differences concerning the number of hands involved. The hand which wrote the annals dated in D 1071–78/79 probably represents a single stint of writing; this section has also suffered a one-year dating dislocation. This group was thus copied after 1079, probably by the same hand which wrote the replacement section (see above). All but Keller agree on five hands in the annals to 1053/54 (Keller identified four), and agree on much the same change-overs. Beyond this the disagreements among palaeographers become more marked. The differences of opinion on the total number of hands in D varies from Plummer's nine or ten to Cubbin's eighteen, chiefly depending on the number of scribes distinguished from 1053/54 onwards.²⁸ There is arguably another consensus on the difficulty of identifying changes of hand and scribal stints after 1053, summed up in Ker's cautious statement that from here to the end of the text 'the writing maintains a general similarity'.²⁹ Perhaps most significantly, where changes of hand have been postulated they do not always occur at the beginning of an annal. One possibly began in the last sentence of 1056; one in mid-annal and mid-sentence in 1061; another in mid-sentence and mid-annal in 1065. Timofey Guimon has recently restressed the importance not just of possible changes of hand but also changes in ink. Once again he identifies these in mid-annal — and mid-sentence — in 1061, and again in 1071.³⁰

²⁷ Cf. Dumville, 'Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing', p. 25 and n. 4, concerning the writing and composition of the less problematic C chronicle.

²⁸ Plummer and Cubbin included the twelfth-century hand: Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, p. xxxiii; cf. *ASC*, VI: *MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, pp. xi–xv.

²⁹ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 254.

³⁰ Guimon, 'Writing of Annals', pp. 142–43.

The palaeography thus provides, at the moment, few secure bases, and some of the conclusions which have been drawn from it are questionable. It is especially dangerous to argue that D as we now have it was first written in the 1050s and then kept up on a more or less contemporary basis.³¹ The difficulty of distinguishing hands after 1054, and especially the possible changes mid-annal, led both Howorth and now Guimon to see D as a copy of a text which had already been produced, whether by collation or by collation and addition. Guimon, Howorth, and Dumville are all inclined to see the chronicle manuscript we now have as produced in its entirety after 1066, perhaps well after. This seems the safest interim conclusion. It is, however, consistent with most scenarios for the development of the chronicle itself, which variously involve chronicling and collating activity both before and after 1066, and links between earlier activity and Ealdred. The range of possibilities suggested by study of the manuscript must be constantly borne in mind. And the obvious point requires restatement. The annals dated 1071 onwards and those from 1016–52 were copied in or after 1080, and those from 1067, possibly from 1065, date from 1070 at the earliest. The palaeography thus leaves open the possibility not merely of copying but of rewriting in these sections — if not in others — well after 1066.

Content, however, is as important as palaeography in chronicle studies, and D's content has always been the strongest argument for association with Ealdred. The case has been summed up most persuasively by Patrick Wormald. D contains many 'northern' annals, or at least annals showing an interest in or knowledge of the North: the northern events which are so significant in, for example, the annals for 926–58 and 1026–55 and 1065 onwards. In addition at least one Archbishop of York, Wulfstan II, seems to have been personally involved in two annals contained in D, probably himself composing the annals for 959 and 975 (though see below). But D is far from a simple northern chronicle. Mercian, especially West Midland, interests are also prominent in the mid-eleventh-century annals from the 1030s to 1060s, and to a much lesser extent in the tenth-century ones.³² Most of these annals

³¹ Cubbin cites Ker as suggesting that a 'consolidated document' (in Cubbin's view the collation which first produced D) was made in the 1050s: *ASC*, vi: *MS D*, p. lxxix, citing Ker, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 254. Ker could be read as suggesting that a chronicle produced at about that time was then kept up with more or less contemporary annals, though his statements are cautious: 'At 1051 the manuscript is perhaps a contemporary record. From about 1052 the text looks, palaeographically, as if it has been written up at intervals [...] but the wording of some annals shows that they are not strictly contemporary.' This is glossed further, and even more cautiously, on the same page where variation from 1054 onwards suggests 'discontinuous writing'.

³² Wormald, *How Do We Know*, p. 13.

are also in Chronicle C. The West Midland entries led Charles Plummer to place D's later stages at Evesham, with a move there from the North to explain its earlier northern interests.³³ But for Wormald, as for Ivor Atkins and George Cubbin, the Worcester/York connection of Ealdred is the key to D's content, explaining many of the 'microcosmic details' of D. It is Ealdred's career in particular which D seems to mirror.³⁴ Even the 'Scottish' elements in D, which impressed Stenton and Whitelock, are, in Wormald's view, largely to be explained by Ealdred's own interests. Margaret of Scotland married King Máel Coluim. Ealdred had been instrumental in bringing her and her brother Eadgar back to England. Eadgar was the man of whose claims to the throne — *at least according to D* (my italics) — Ealdred was convinced in autumn 1066.³⁵

Wormald was equally impressed by Ealdred's significance in D's 'macrocosmic patterns'. On the admittedly crude but nonetheless impressive measure of number of references in Plummer's index, few figures rival Ealdred.³⁶ For Wormald, therefore, Atkins was right in explaining D's content by the movements and interests of Ealdred, though he could have gone even further. D largely loses interest in Worcester after Ealdred moved to York in 1061 and relinquished that see in 1062. Wormald thus concluded not only with an association of this chronicle with Ealdred but with northern production for D as we now have it. He dismissed York itself, largely on the grounds of D's alleged mistake over Ægelric/Æthelric of Durham in 1072 (D1073), to which I will return.³⁷ D must have belonged at some other northern house associated with Ealdred.

These arguments are powerful and persuasive. They argue, at the very least, for the interest of a set of annals — D itself or annals which lie behind D — in the Archbishop, though it should be noted that this is an exaggeration of a general trend in the mid-eleventh-century annals. C, D, and E all show considerable interest in bishops in their mid-eleventh-century annals.³⁸ Placing that set of annals

³³ Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, p. lxxvi.

³⁴ Wormald, *How Do We Know*, pp. 14–16.

³⁵ Note the problems and implications of the fact that so much of what we know of Ealdred comes from D.

³⁶ Wormald, *How Do We Know*, p. 14.

³⁷ Wormald, *How Do We Know*, p. 16, a mistake which also impressed Atkins, 'Origin of the Later Part', p. 23, and Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, 220.

³⁸ A very rough count of entries concerning bishops produces the following statistics: MS A has eighty-nine/ninety entries concerned with bishops, popes, and other ecclesiastics, largely bishops, to AD 1001; post-1006 hands 7, 8, and 9 at Canterbury added or extended fourteen to

or chronicles in the North in the mid-eleventh century would implicitly account for the upkeep of annals with a continued northern interest for a decade or so after Ealdred's death. However, the scope of Wormald's discussion was limited by its lecture format, and he did not consider in detail the stages of the D chronicle's development, nor the important question of the precise shape and content of the chronicle which he links to Ealdred. His argument implies not only the composition of annals close to Ealdred in the mid-eleventh century, but also their attachment to a vernacular chronicle which stretched back into the tenth century and before.³⁹ It is not, however, clear, even by implication, whether he felt that the detailed annals for Æthelred II's reign, 983–1016/22, with their picture of nemesis and collapse in the face of invasion, were already part of D as Ealdred might have known it. These are critical questions if we are to assess the messages a vernacular chronicle might have transmitted to Ealdred and his circle. They are also ones posed by the most detailed recent study of the development and inter-relationships of the mid-eleventh-century chronicles.

David Dumville's important paper on annalistic writing after 1066 is concerned primarily with historical, especially vernacular chronicle, writing at Canterbury.⁴⁰ But its conclusions have implications for the development of D. They would make D a chronicle and not merely a manuscript produced in or after 1080, on the basis of a collation of three other sources: Chronicle C, as we now have it; a predecessor of the surviving Chronicle E, Dumville's √E, that is, a chronicle developed and available at Canterbury post-1066; and a set of northern annals, which were also

1001, and hand 9 added five from 1005–50. The Northern Recension, as most fully represented by E, has about seven of these Canterbury additions, but it also extends or adds fifty-four to AD 1001, omitting or losing some or all of four or more. The Northern Recension thus extended A's coverage by 50 per cent. In the Alfred section, c. 850–99, there are eight such annals. In a comparable period, annals for 1018–65, C has eighteen, E twenty-four, and D twenty-seven. In brute statistical terms, this is closest to the strongly ecclesiastical eighth-century section of the Northern Recension taken from the York annals. Some of this, perhaps in particular E's interest in Stigand, may well post-date 1066. The attitude and tone of E's annals on Stigand and Robert is worth note: see E 1052, 1058 (noting his consecrations), and 1061. These entries need more discussion. It is not clear whether some of them represent post-1066 responses to Norman criticism of the English church. E for example as we now have it has gone through some revision at Canterbury c. 1100 as well as, potentially, later.

³⁹ Atkins, 'Origin of the Later Part', confined himself largely to the later stages of the chronicle, i.e. its mid-eleventh-century sections; Wormald, *How Do We Know*, p. 12, extended the argument with reference to the evidence of D's interest in archbishops of York more generally, and their involvement in earlier sections of it.

⁴⁰ Dumville, 'Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing'.

available to $\sqrt{E}$. Dumville's views on the nature and shape of these northern annals are not spelled out. They certainly covered the years from 1065 to 1080; they may have stretched back beyond that date. But if so, the implication elsewhere in his argument is that any pre-1065 northern annals have left little trace in D. D's pre-1065 annals are to be explained by a collation of C and $\sqrt{E}$.⁴¹ Both D and $\sqrt{E}$ thus appear to receive the Northern Recension (see below) from the same source. And, crucially, that source had not already combined it with the annals for Æthelred's reign.⁴² Dumville is not overtly concerned with the arguments linking D to Ealdred. But his views raise serious doubts about the existence of a fully developed vernacular chronicle (i.e. one including the mid-eleventh-century annals but also stretching back into the tenth century and beyond) associated with Ealdred, and especially about whether D or any of its immediate sources was such a chronicle.

To sum up. The evidence of palaeography is inconclusive. D's content has been argued to point persuasively to Ealdred and his circle; but discussion of exactly how D developed as a chronicle has raised significant new questions. Arguments about development and content are closely entwined. I will begin with the larger questions about D as a collation, and its major sources, before returning to specific issues concerning D's content.

Dumville's arguments are a sharp reminder that Chronicle D is, directly or indirectly, related to Chronicles C and E. The similarities between C, D, and E often involve word-for-word duplication. There can be no doubt of links between them. The links may derive from common sources as much as cross-fertilization.⁴³

⁴¹ See e.g. Dumville, 'Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing', p. 36: 'that the compiler of D drew on $\sqrt{E}$ seems as certain as anything in this mass of complexities'; p. 37: 'if D as a whole was formed by the collation of C against $\sqrt{E}$ [...]'; p. 38: 'as in other sections of the text, D seems here [i.e. in the Æthelred annals] to have been created by a more or less haphazard collation of C against a base text represented by $\sqrt{E}$ '. And on this cf. *ASC*, VI: *MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, especially pp. lii–lv, though Cubbin also sees the use of northern annals, e.g. p. xxxix, but these are only made significant for the tenth-century content, pp. xxxii–xxxix. For Cubbin a first major conflation occurred in the early 1050s, pp. liii–lv.

⁴² Dumville is categorical that the Northern Recension as it appears in $\sqrt{E}$ and thus presumably also in D was not connected to the Æthelred annals before 1066; see 'Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing', p. 29. He allows that 'such a juncture might also have been effected independently elsewhere' (p. 29, n. 3), but although that could potentially be in a source such as the northern annals, his text makes clear that he believes that the Northern Recension in the form 'identified from MSS DE' was linked to the Æthelred Annals after 1066 at Canterbury.

⁴³ Common matter is highlighted in *ASC*, VI: *MS D*, ed. by Irvine, pp. xvii–lv, and *ASC*, VII: *MSE*, ed. by Cubbin, pp. xxxii–lxxxviii. As always, however, one must allow that E, as we now have it, is twelfth century; D in part rewritten.

Any final resolution of the development of D will thus involve these inter-relationships, and ideally a comparison of the connections between all three and John of Worcester's *Chronicon*. Pending such full consideration, all conclusions are tentative. However, without denying this commonality, D's content differs so markedly from that in C and E that D cannot be a simple collation of C and E (or rather $\sqrt{E}$). It is also arguable that the version of the Northern Recension which lies behind D differs from that which lies behind $E/\sqrt{E}$.

Starting with the eleventh-century annals, D and $\sqrt{E}$ have used a common source for the annals 1070–78 (D 1071–79). D's annals for 1067–68 are more or less unique to it, though perhaps developed from a source common with $E/\sqrt{E}$. They appear to have undergone considerable rewriting, perhaps to incorporate the long panegyric of Margaret of Scotland in 1067. It is likely that D originally had three annals here under 1067, 1068, and 1069, and E's brief annals bear some relation to these.⁴⁴ The problems in the chronology of Ealdred's life arose, in part at least, from this new narrative. The annal for 1066 is of particular complexity. But here, too, D has much material, especially on events after Stamford Bridge, which is found in neither C nor $\sqrt{E}$.⁴⁵ Thus for the years from 1070, if not before, we have a common source used by D and $E/\sqrt{E}$.⁴⁶ But D's version of this source has gone through at least one substantial rewriting for the years 1067–70.

Before 1067, the situation is more complicated. D shares much material with C in the decades from the 1030s to the 1060s.⁴⁷ Most of this shared material, especially in annals for 1034–56, has a Mercian and especially a West Midlands focus. But this fact cannot be explained as D simply collating or using C. C has material omitted from D, but which other annals in D assume, for instance, C's 1039. This was perhaps elided by mistake in D, since D's annal for 1052 (not in C) refers to its content. C has other West Midlands or Mercian material and annals not in D (for example 1046). We must always be aware that D 1034–52[1] is part of the recopied section, and thus is at least one remove from the original state of these

⁴⁴ Even more so those in JW. John may here be close to D before rewriting, though the relationship with D is not simple.

⁴⁵ Though note that C has lost its ending — on which see *ASC*, v: *MS C*, ed. by O'Brien O'Keeffe, pp. xv, lxxiii–lxxiv, and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Reading the C-Text: The Afterlives of London, BL Tiberius B i.', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 137–60 (pp. 141–47).

⁴⁶ Dumville, 'Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing', p. 31, implies that D and E may be connected from 1065, if not 1063.

⁴⁷ CD *s.a.* 1034, 1037, 1038, 1041, C 1045 (D 1047), C 1048 (D 1049), 1053, 1055, 1056, 1065–66.

annals in D.⁴⁸ Elision could easily have occurred. However, D has West Midlands or Mercian material and annals not in C: some associated with Ealdred (D 1047, 1050, 1053, 1054, 1058, 1060, 1061); some perhaps so associated (D 1052, 1053); some which continue into the gap in C's coverage in the 1050s (D 1057, 1058, 1060, 1063); and some which provide additional detail to C's coverage (D 1045, 1049). Common ground between C and D continues up to 1066. There is, however, an oddity. Up to *c.* 1053, C and D differ in the date at which they begin the year. From the mid-1050s to 1065 they seem to follow the same dating practice, but not a consistent one; they veer together from one calculation of year beginning to another. This suggests a change in their relationship for the annals after *c.* 1053. But the shifts are difficult to explain.⁴⁹ It should also be noted that D differs from C (and E/√E) in its series of Scandinavian entries in the 1040s.⁵⁰

These differences between C and D, which include extra material as well as omissions on both sides, cannot all be explained as copyist's errors in D. Simple deductions are dangerous in chronicle studies, but the first hypothesis here must be a West Midlands or Mercian set of annals lying behind both C and D, at least for the decades from 1030 to 1060. At some stage compilers of both chronicles drew from this, and elaborated according to their interests.⁵¹ More certainly, and perhaps more important for present purposes, D cannot here be explained simply as a collation using C, even for the decades when their content is close.

Turning to the tenth-century annals, both D and E/√E have long been recognized as testimony to an important lost vernacular chronicle extending at least to the annals for the 970s, the so-called Northern Recension.⁵² This is reconstructed on the

⁴⁸ It was probably at this stage, e.g., that 1044 was omitted in D, so that D moved one year ahead of C from 1045–52[1]. Comparison of C's and D's dating is also complicated at this stage by the fact that C begins the year at the Annunciation, D at Christmas or January 1 — see also below note 49.

⁴⁹ Briefly, C followed Annunciation dating in the mid-eleventh century, up to the early 1050s. D began the year at Christmas or 1 January. In the entry for 1056 (undated in C) both began the year at Christmas or 1 January, but by 1065 (i.e. events of early 1066) both are using Annunciation dating. See also Dorothy Whitelock, 'On the Commencement of the Year in the Saxon Chronicles', in Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, pp. cxliia–cxliib.

⁵⁰ D 1045, *recte* 1044; 1046, *recte* 1045; 1047, *recte* 1046; 1048, *recte* 1047; 1049, *recte* 1048; 1050, *recte* 1049, also in JW.

⁵¹ Cf. Stephen Baxter, 'MS C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Politics of Mid Eleventh-Century England', *EHR*, 122 (2007), 1189–1227 (pp. 1221–24).

⁵² See Stafford, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Identity and the Making of England', for discussion and references to earlier work here.

basis of D and E. D, however, has a number of annals not found in E/√E, for the 920s–950s, whose subject matter is northern and which do not derive from C (or B/C), D's other putative source for tenth-century events.⁵³ These include a much fuller coverage of the career of Archbishop Wulfstan I of York, whose actions are presented from the perspective of loyalty to the southern kings. As with C and D's mid-eleventh-century annals, neither D nor E/√E can be a copy of the other here, and neither seems to offer simple access to a single, lost Northern Recension. One distinct possibility is that, for the tenth-century annals, D and E/√E represent significantly different developments or versions of that lost chronicle. D also has a remarkable series of entries involving women from c. 940 to the 960s.⁵⁴

Taken together these facts and deductions about tenth- and eleventh-century content give rise to several implications. First, the differences are sufficiently significant to argue that D cannot simply be a collation of C and E/√E; the bulk of D as a chronicle thus does not necessarily post-date the final creation of C and E/√E — the creation of a chronicle (√D) for Ealdred cannot thus be ruled out on these grounds. Second, the common material in D and E/√E to 980 is difficult to explain by D's use of E/√E; nor does a lost DE cover all the differences.⁵⁵ The Northern Recension is a source for both, but two versions or developments of it, lying independently behind both, is a possibility. Third, some at least of D's similarities to C are better explained by independent use of a common Mercian/West Midlands source than by D's use of C; this applies particularly to the mid-eleventh-century annals.⁵⁶ None of this precludes collation involving C and E/√E at some

⁵³ B/C is shorthand for a common source of B and C to 975/77; cf. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, p. lxxxviii, and *ASC*, v: *MS C*, ed. by O'Brien O'Keeffe, pp. lvii–lxiii.

⁵⁴ To Wulfrun, D 943; Æthelflæd of Damerham, daughter of ealdorman Ælfgar, D 946; Saint [sic] Ælfgifu, D 955; Ælfgifu wife of Eadwig, D 958; Ælfthryth, D 965. F also has Saint Ælfgifu and Ælfthryth, though, interestingly, as insertions. It is significant that these women are in two cases identified in D by their fathers. In almost all cases these are women who continued to be important, as widows, into the later tenth century. It is unlikely that such information, especially with such specific family identification, would be made/inserted as late as the mid-eleventh century. A date closer to AD 1000 seems right.

⁵⁵ Cf. *ASC*, VII: *MS E*, ed. by Irvine, e.g. p. xxxviii for √DE; pp. xxxix–xliii that D and E do not derive from a common DE but √DE.

⁵⁶ I have not tackled here the similarities between C and D's tenth-century annals, nor the common material in C and D from the mid-1050s–1066, which may argue different links between them. However, D's access to the so-called 'Mercian Register', present in C and B for the early tenth century, does not seem to have been via C, or even B/C, since D completes, or at least has a different version of, the last annal of that lost source — D 924; cf. C MR 924.

stage (or stages) of D's evolution. But it does point to significantly different sources — and significantly different use of common sources — behind D's pre-1066 annals. It does not tell us when these sources were produced, nor at what point they were combined into a single chronicle similar to D, nor a fortiori for whom either D's sources or that single chronicle were made. The Mercian/West Midland annals — and/or D's selection from them — could argue a connection with Ealdred. A Northern Recension available to him would be of considerable interest, let alone a decision to collate or extend such a chronicle. To explore these potential links with Ealdred we need first to return to the details of content, and second to consider more evidence about D's version of the Northern Recension.

The eleventh-century annals argued to be linked to Ealdred are the Mercian or West Midland ones, and also D's northern material. Analysis of content needs, however, to be constantly alert to problems of categorization. Depending on how loosely we define 'Ealdred interest', most of the Mercian material could be associated with him or with Worcester. The northern material could be broken down: into Scottish (or Margaret of Scotland-related), York, and Durham material. And whilst, again, most of this could be categorized as 'Ealdred' there are other possibilities. Moreover there are important clues about the author or authors of some of these annals, of their emotional reactions if not of their geographical location.

The annals concerning York and its archbishops are prime candidates for association with Ealdred. Up to 1066 these are often found in C as well as, or even instead of D: CD 1050/51 (death of Archbishop Ælfric); C 1053 (accession of Archbishop Cynesige); D 1060 (the death of Cynesige and accession of Ealdred to York); and CD 1054 and 1055, which deal with Earl Siward's Scottish campaign, his death, and burial. If the connection between C and D was via Mercian annals, they appear now to have extended to include York interests. The link of this source and its development with Ealdred appears strong. C and D continue to differ in their treatment of what appears to be common material. The annals for 1054 and 1055 are extended by extra detail in D, but in 1066 it is C not D which extends the common northern material, whilst in 1065 C's coverage arguably extenuates the northern uprising, or at least blackens Tostig more. The years 1065–66 are difficult to assess in all these vernacular chronicles. Differences between C and D may be a first sign of post-1066 perspectives and emotions. These years were clearly seared into memory and evoked passionate and far from identical responses in chroniclers, all of whom were writing or copying whilst that memory was raw. This complicates all assessments of the annals for 1066, if not before.

D's 'Scottish' annals are 1031, 1034, 1054 (the Siward entry shared with C, also classifiable as 'York'), 1066 (where C has more detailed coverage of Scottish and

northern events in general than D), 1067, 1068, 1073, 1075, and 1078 (the latter three shared with E). Scottish material becomes more marked in and after 1066. The presence of Margaret and Eadgar in Scotland after 1067 is one key to this interest. That certainly applies to D's extraordinary — and rewritten — annal for 1067 where the extended treatment of Margaret is almost unmatched in any surviving vernacular chronicle, for a man let alone a woman.⁵⁷ But it perhaps applies more generally. D's 1057 annal and poem, covering the return of Margaret and Eadgar's father, Edward the Exile, could thus be included in this group. It is easy to see why Stenton and Whitelock felt that D was, in its final form, produced for the Scottish court and after Margaret's marriage if not after her death. The Scottish annals, especially via a Margaret/Eadgar connection, are consistent with association of D with Ealdred, given the archbishop's personal interest in this family. However, they grow in importance after his death, and they include some material before his appointment to York, material not in C. They are a reminder that D went on developing after 1066, and indeed after 1069.⁵⁸ They also raise the possibility of eleventh-century sources of D, and locations for those sources if not for the production of D itself, which are not necessarily connected with the Archbishop. Northern annals from 1065 onwards are a possible source, and there is a *prima facie* case for extending these backwards, accounting for the provenance of earlier Scottish material. And perhaps for placing them at Durham. Margaret's chaplain, and later hagiographer, Turgot, was a monk of Durham, and Durham had other links with the Scottish court in the late eleventh century.⁵⁹ The earliest Scottish charters were written there.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ See Pauline Stafford, 'Chronicle D, 1067 and Women: Gendering Conquest in Eleventh-Century England', in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. by Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006), pp. 208–23.

⁵⁸ And note that in the rewritten section of D Edmund Ironside is capitalized in 1016. The interest in his family certainly pre-dates this rewriting — the 1057 poem e.g. is not part of this rewritten section. But there is every indication that D's authors and/or copyists became increasingly interested in this family. Note again the need to allow for an evolving D after 1066.

⁵⁹ G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Kings of Scotland and Durham', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. by David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 311–23; G. W. S. Barrow, 'Scots in the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, ed. by David Rollason and others (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 109–16 (p. 115).

⁶⁰ Archibald A. M. Duncan, 'Yes, the Earliest Scottish Charters', *Scottish Historical Review*, 78 (1999), 1–38.

Durham material is certainly significant in D's mid- to late eleventh-century annals. D's interest in bishops of Durham, or rather in mid-eleventh-century bishops, is remarkable. CD 1041 is a rare annal concerned with the rulers of Bamburgh; this is extended in D alone by the enigmatic statement that Ægelric/Æthelric, bishop of Durham, was consecrated 'to York'. It notes Æthelric's retirement to Peterborough and his brother's accession to Durham (D 1056); his accusation and imprisonment and his brother's outlawry (D 1068); and the harrying of Peterborough by those whom he had excommunicated (D 1071).⁶¹ It notes finally Æthelric's death and burial (D 1073, also in E 1072) where D (and E) repeat the 1041 'error' that he was consecrated 'to York' 'ac hit wæs mid unrihte him of genumen' (but it was taken from him unjustly/without right). Durham is a significant interest in D 1076, and E 1080 should perhaps be added to this Durham tally, since it could represent the last entry in a common source omitted from the incomplete D.

D's mistake concerning Æthelric's appointment *to* York in 1041 has been used as an argument against York as the source of D's eleventh-century northern annals; such a mistake is unthinkable there.⁶² The mistake is repeated, and with feeling, *s.a.* 1073; his alleged deprivation was here a source of grievance. The relationship of D's 1041 and 1073 annals raises tantalizing possibilities about one of the authors of D's later annals, and about the authorship of the 'northern annals' themselves. Did the author of D 1073 have the 1041 annal — and its error — before him; did he reread it with a strong sense of grievance produced by the final fate of Æthelric and his brother? Or did the author of D 1073, moved again by emotions stirred by these events, insert the 1041 extension, creating its error? This obviously requires more consideration of the putative 'northern annals' and whether they stretched back before 1066, and whether the Durham material comes from them. Was our impassioned author the author of all the northern annals? Was he also the author of the reworked annals in D 1067–68? They certainly share what looks like his weak grasp of earlier history, if not of vernacular idiom; first in the genealogy of Margaret (where King Eadgar became the son of his uncle Eadred), and second in the problematic chronology of Ealdred's own career. Or does the fact that E 1071 shares D 1073's error, but not this 1067–68 reworking, argue for more than one author here?

The full significance of the Durham material cannot be explored here. The last author/copyists at work on D raise important questions. But the Durham material

⁶¹ An entry, note, also in E's source, which later triggered a rewriting at twelfth-century Peterborough.

⁶² Thus e.g. Atkins, 'Origins of the Later Part', p. 23, and Wormald, *How Do We Know*, p. 16 — though the events in 1040/41 are far from clear.

suggests the need to keep an open mind on the range and location of D's northern sources, and to keep Durham firmly in the frame both for those sources and for final reworking. And D's 1073 annal, like that for 1068, confirms the strength of post-1066 emotions in the last stages of D's evolution.⁶³

In our current state of knowledge, we should be very wary of using Ealdred and his household as a catch-all explanation for all this material. Even apparently safe associations could be questioned. The 1050s material on the archbishops could, perhaps a little mischievously, be linked to Peterborough not Ealdred. So too could retrospective concern with Æthelric of Durham, and the apparent errors which crept into the resulting entries.⁶⁴ Annal-writing and selection close to Ealdred are very likely explanations of some parts of D's evolution, and the putative West Midland annals are of special importance here. Neither Durham nor Peterborough provide simple alternative keys to all D's mid- to late eleventh-century content. But they are possible locations for the composition of other annals.⁶⁵ D's mid-eleventh-century development requires far more work. That work should not close off the possibility of sources unconnected with Ealdred and should allow for significant rewriting and reworking, at some remove from events and from the Archbishop. Such rewriting included post-1066 perspectives if not apologiae — a caveat which should perhaps be applied to D's coverage of Ealdred himself. D is a complex chronicle, and future work on it should be wary of a priori reductionist arguments, including those involving Ealdred.

Work on D will need to distinguish different activities and their link to the Archbishop: the composition of annals, the selection from existing annals/sources, the collation and/or rewriting of earlier annals, the copying of annals. But an overarching question is just as significant, if not more so. Was a full-blown vernacular chronicle — one which stretched back beyond a set of mid-eleventh-century annals

⁶³ On which see Stafford, 'Chronicle D, 1067 and Women'.

⁶⁴ Given the links of archbishops of York — and bishops of Durham — to Peterborough, Peterborough could explain CD 1050, C 1053 and perhaps 1055, D 1056, D 1060, D 1071, D 1073, and perhaps D 1072, whilst D 1057, Earl Ralph's burial at Peterborough, and D 1059, the precisely dated fall of the steeple at Peterborough, could also be added. Plummer was aware of these; see *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii.

⁶⁵ It should be noted that Peterborough had a vernacular chronicle, lost in the fire in the early twelfth century which required its replacement by our E, and that Durham, too, may have had a vernacular chronicle — see its medieval inventory, discussed in Alan J. Piper, 'The Historical Interests of the Monks of Durham', in *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. by David Rollason (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1998), pp. 301–32 (p. 312). Durham, like Worcester, was a great centre of twelfth-century historical writing.

— either produced for Ealdred or available to him? The vernacular tradition, as it developed in the tenth century on the basis of Alfred's chronicle, was arguably an ideological expression of West Saxon hegemony linked to the development of the English kingdom.⁶⁶ The Northern Recension was perhaps its most significant product. How far Ealdred should be placed within that tradition is thus of considerable significance, not least for the 'mind' and ideological formation of this key player in 1066. It is time to turn from the mid-eleventh-century annals in D to one specific source of the D chronicle.

Historians are more or less unanimous that the so-called Northern Recension lies behind D and E. Its modern name, the 'Northern Recension', is potentially misleading; it is as likely to have been composed south as north of the Humber. When the Northern Recension was made is uncertain, but there are strong arguments for the later tenth century. It has been plausibly explained as a chronicle associated with southern-appointed holders of the sees of York and Worcester.⁶⁷ Its first core source was the chronicle associated with Alfred. For the seventh and eighth centuries this was greatly extended with extra material: for the seventh century especially from Bede, for the eighth using a set of Latin annals now known as the 'York' (sometimes 'Alcuin') annals.⁶⁸ D and E have not only the resulting section to 899 in common, but also a continuation for the years 959–79. It is not clear whether the original Northern Recension extended beyond this, nor whether 959–79 is a continuation added to only some versions of that lost chronicle. A chronicle extending to 979 would, of course, be a hypothetical base on which putative northern annals or the West Midlands ones, discussed above, could have grown.

The Northern Recension as used by both D and E probably had some connection with Archbishop Wulfstan of York/Worcester. The chronicle poem in DE 959 has been linked to him, though this has recently been questioned.⁶⁹ The

⁶⁶ Pauline Stafford, '“The Annals of Æthelflæd”: Annals, History and Politics in Early Tenth-Century England', in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. by Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 101–16, and Stafford, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Identity and the Making of England'.

⁶⁷ Stafford, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Identity and the Making of England', and cf. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, I, 114.

⁶⁸ Joanna Story, 'The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent', *ASE*, 34 (2005), 59–109, and Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), chap. 4.

⁶⁹ Karl Jost, 'Wulfstan und die Angelsächsische Chronik', *Anglia*, 47 (1923), 105–23; cf. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, I, 225. Sara M. Pons-Sanz, 'A Paw in Every Pie: Wulfstan

arguments for associating D's version with Wulfstan are much stronger. The 975 annal common to D and E/√E has been extended in D in poetic form, and with typically 'Wulfstanian' phraseology and concerns, for example with widows.⁷⁰ Wulfstanian touches are identifiable elsewhere in D, with more or less certainty of attribution. Under 1018, D alone notes the agreement at Oxford as being 'to Eadgares lage', a description which not only matches the importance of King Eadgar's law to Wulfstan, but chimes precisely with the characterization of this meeting in a Wulfstan manuscript.⁷¹ D alone gives details at the death of Archbishop Lyfing of Canterbury *s.a.* 1019 which not only highlight strictly contemporary knowledge of his other name, Ælfstan, but describe him, again in Wulfstanian terms, as 'swiðe rædfæst man, ægðer for Gode and for worulde', a very wise man — and the implication is of strength in counsel — in both religious and secular matters. D alone records the consecration of Bishop Ælfwig to London at York in 1014, a consecration which Wulfstan probably performed, perhaps before Lyfing collected his pallium.⁷² To these we might possibly add D 1007, Bishop Ælfheah's journey to Rome to collect the pallium — a journey whose costs were, we know, an issue close to Wulfstan's heart.⁷³ It may even be the interests, and allegiances, of

and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Again', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 38 (2007), 31–52, is a linguistic analysis of Wulfstan's involvement, which has raised some questions, especially about the 959 poem.

⁷⁰ Stephanie Hollis, '“The Protection of God and the King”: Wulfstan's Legislation on Widows', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 443–60 (p. 450). It is perhaps worth noting the women in D (see above, note 54), most of whom were widows and significant in the late tenth century. *ASC*, VII: *MS E*, ed. by Irvine, pp. lx–lxi and nn. 141 and 142 follows Whitelock in arguing that E in 975 abbreviates what D gives in full. Other Wulfstanian additions raise doubts about this view. But even if it is correct, most of the following argument stands.

⁷¹ Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law, King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 129–31, also linking these chronicle references to Ealdred, plus pp. 206–10 and 346. The Wulfstan text is edited and discussed by A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code of 1018', *ASE*, 11 (1983), 57–81.

⁷² Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), pp. 287–88.

⁷³ For Wulfstan's authorship of a letter complaining about costs of the journey to Rome and payments for the pallium, see Dorothy Bethurum, 'A Letter of Protest from the English Bishops to the Pope', in *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies*, ed. by Thomas A. Kirby and Henry Woolf (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1949), pp. 97–104.

Wulfstan II which brought the more detailed account of his namesake and predecessor, Wulfstan I, into the Northern Recension; this is covered in annals D 947, ?948, 952, 954, and 957 (only one of which is in E, *s.a.* 956).

The reference in 1007 to an Archbishop of Canterbury's journey to Rome is an immediate warning against the dangers of reductionism when dealing with chronicle content. This may be categorized as 'Wulfstanian', but its Canterbury interest is also clear. D had a complex history, which may have included at least some time at Canterbury or in contact with sources also available at Canterbury (though see above, note 22). There were many routes by which material could have entered into a chronicle whose current state as a late copy masks much earlier development. Nonetheless these Wulfstan touches are persuasive, not least because we know that Archbishop's propensity to annotate or alter manuscripts associated with him.⁷⁴ These touches suggest a close link between D's version of the Northern Recension and Wulfstan or his household. They may even do more. They are spread across annals from the 970s to 1019, including one in 1014. That would suggest that when these additions were made, the annals for 983–1018/22 were already available to the annotator/reviser. This must for the moment be a very tentative suggestion. But if it is correct, then these so-called 'Æthelred annals' would have been available to Wulfstan or his household by the early 1020s. Perhaps Wulfstan or his household attached them to the Northern Recension which now precedes them in D.⁷⁵

The association of a vernacular chronicle with Archbishop Wulfstan II and the nature of that chronicle are of considerable importance for any arguments about Ealdred. There must be a strong presumption that any vernacular chronicle available to, if not worked on by, Wulfstan II would have been known to Ealdred, who was his successor at both Worcester and York. Such a chronicle could have sparked a continuation. But it and its shape are significant in themselves. If the version of the vernacular chronicle which Wulfstan bequeathed to his successors in York and Worcester contained not only a specific version of the Northern Recension but the Æthelred annals, then he bequeathed with them a particular reading of English history. It was one which expressed the West Saxon hegemony and the successes

⁷⁴ I do not think this allows us to argue that E's source was thus identical to D's, and that E/√E merely omitted marginalia: first because the differences between D and E/√E on northern material are too great; second because E/√E clearly did not omit marginalia from its sources, as witness the Abingdon marginalia it seems to have taken from its source common with C for, e.g., the 980s.

⁷⁵ I am not arguing that the Æthelred annals were composed as a continuation of the Northern Recension, but that they may have been in the same hands as, if not added to, the Northern Recension by the early 1020s.

of Alfred's dynasty, though also one which highlighted its darkest moment and conquest by Swegn and Cnut. Even without the Æthelred annals, it would have been one whose eighth-century sections foregrounded archbishops of York and their importance, but also carried the story of the formation of the kingdom of the English shaped by a West Saxon viewpoint. It was probably one which, in its mid-tenth-century entries, included a very critical account of the activities of the mid-tenth-century Archbishop Wulfstan vis-à-vis Viking claimants to Northumbria. It thus told a salutary tale of the potential treachery of northern archbishops, as that was defined and interpreted from the perspective of a kingdom of the English ruled from the south. And it was one which would have come to Ealdred via the revered hands of his predecessor Archbishop Wulfstan II — a man who had himself been faced with negotiating a foreign conquest as archbishop of the least well-assimilated area of eleventh-century England. If this was the content of the chronicle Ealdred knew, then that is truly an important insight into the formation of the mind of the man who negotiated the events of 1066.

It has not been the purpose of this paper to give a definitive answer to questions about the link between D and Ealdred. That answer, if it can ever be given, must await more work on D and on the connections between it and other chronicles. On current evidence, some association with Ealdred looks very likely. But some of D's northern content argues for other sources and possibilities; these should not be excluded at this stage. Whether Ealdred and his circle were involved in creating a vernacular chronicle, continuing one, or producing vernacular annals are not, however, the only questions. Of equal moment, especially for Ealdred's attitudes, is whether he *knew* a vernacular chronicle. It has been argued here that such a chronicle lies behind D, and a first tentative reconstruction of it has been suggested. That chronicle carried messages from earlier English history. But D was also, at least as we now have it, affected by the tumultuous events of 1066 and its aftermath. D as we now have it is a chronicle not only extended, but also in parts rewritten and reworked after 1066. Any reading of it, especially of its annals from the 1060s, but also from 1016 onwards, must allow for that. It may be as much commentary, critique, retrospect, and apologia as simple record of events and actions, including events and actions involving Ealdred himself.

HUGUES DE FLEURY ET L'HISTOIRE NORMANDE

Pierre Bauduin

Débuter une contribution à un volume de *Mélanges* est un exercice toujours délicat pour un auteur, qui, entre toutes les facettes de la personnalité et de l'œuvre de celui qu'il honore, doit choisir un ou deux éléments saillants du scientifique et de l'ami pour introduire son propos. Une solution est de laisser à d'autres cette tâche, par exemple en déléguant à un écrivain du passé le soin d'apporter la phrase ou le passage qui lui permettra de saisir le ou l'un des centre(s) d'intérêt qui lui paraissent représentatif(s) de la contribution apportée par le destinataire des *Mélanges*. S'agissant de David Bates, d'histoire anglo-normande et de Guillaume le Conquérant, je céderais volontiers la parole à Hugues de Fleury, qui s'adressait en ces termes à Mathilde l'Emperesse dans le prologue de son *Liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus*:

Rollon, du sang duquel vous descendez, célèbre duc des Danois, au temps de Charles le Chauve roi des Francs, après la mort de l'empereur Louis, entra en Gaule par la Seine et, s'étant avancé dans le pays, s'empara de la Neustrie, appelée maintenant Normandie. A Rollon succéda son fils, nommé Guillaume. A Guillaume succéda Richard, prince noble et magnifique. Ce Richard engendra un autre Richard, homme aimé de Dieu et d'une éminente sainteté. Et ce Richard engendra Robert. Robert engendra le fameux Guillaume, roi d'Angleterre, qui, par son habileté, soumit ce royaume qu'aucun empereur romain, à l'exception de Claude et Jules César, n'avait jamais osé attaquer. Aucun roi de notre temps surpassa ce Guillaume en bonheur et en sagesse. Personne ne saurait louer dignement sa grandeur d'âme et sa magnificence, qui élevèrent sa gloire jusqu'aux extrémités de la terre au-dessus de celle de tous les rois et princes de notre époque. Peu de rois à l'avenir, je le crois, imiteront ce prince et posséderont complètement cette abondance de qualités, cette distinction de caractère dont Dieu l'a doué au cours de sa vie et de son heureuse destinée. Il eut pour fils et héritier Henri, magnifique roi d'Angleterre, votre noble père.¹

¹ Hugues de Fleury, *Liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus*, éd. par Georg Waitz, MGH Scriptorum, 9 (Hanovre: Hahn, 1851), pp. 376–95 (désormais cité *Liber*) (pp. 376–77).

Il est certain que David nuancerait considérablement le propos. Nous connaissons le portrait qu'il fit du roi Guillaume voici une vingtaine d'années et nous attendons de lire une nouvelle biographie du Conquérant.² Mon propos ne sera donc pas de revenir sur la figure du premier souverain anglo-normand, mais plutôt de m'interroger sur la vision de l'histoire normande et anglo-normande que nous a transmise le moine Hugues de Fleury. Le paradoxe est ici que cette vision nous est parvenue dans un récit que l'on présente parfois comme 'le premier essai d'histoire officielle de la dynastie capétienne'.³ À n'en pas douter dans cette 'histoire capétienne' la place des Normands et de leurs ducs puis des rois d'Angleterre, était considérable. Pour autant ce point n'a jamais véritablement suscité les commentaires des historiens du monde anglo-normand, peut-être parce que l'œuvre d'Hugues n'a pas toujours reçu l'intérêt qu'elle méritait et qu'elle n'a pas reçu une édition moderne satisfaisante.⁴ L'ambition de cet article n'est pas de combler cette lacune, mais modestement d'esquisser quelques pistes de réflexion.

Fleury, la royauté française, l'Angleterre et la Normandie

Hugues de Fleury rédige son *Liber* dans l'un des foyers historiographiques les plus illustres du royaume depuis plus d'un siècle. Encouragée par l'abbé Abbon, 'l'école historique de Fleury' avait contribué au renouvellement de l'écriture de l'histoire en France, que jalonnent les œuvres d'Aimoin au début du XI^e siècle, d'Helgaud et d'André de Fleury à la génération suivante, et enfin d'Hugues de Fleury et Raoul le Tourtier au début du XII^e siècle. Comme le résumait Robert-Henri Bautier,

le monastère a produit, rappelons-le, l'œuvre hagiographique la plus volumineuse et la meilleure de ce temps: les premières biographies de France furent rédigées avec les vies d'Abbon, de Robert le Pieux et de Gauzlin; enfin la première histoire moderne, les *Gesta Francorum*, y fut compilée par Aimoin, avant que sous la plume d'Hugues et après des essais encore mal connus s'y rédigeât la première histoire universelle écrite en France: l'œuvre de Fleury est fondamentale dans la genèse de l'historiographie officielle du royaume.⁵

² David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (Londres: George Philip, 1989), p. 186.

³ Régis Rech, 'Hugues de Sainte-Marie', dans *Dictionnaire du Moyen Âge*, éd. par Claude Gauvard, Alain de Libera, et Michel Zink (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), p. 696.

⁴ Alexandre Vidier, *L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les Miracles de Saint-Benoît* (Paris: Picard, 1965), p. 79. Concernant les manuscrits de ce texte, voir appendice.

⁵ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'La Place de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire dans l'historiographie française du IX^e au XII^e siècle', dans *Études ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales: mémoires et exposés présentés à la Semaine d'études médiévales de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire du 3 au 10 juillet 1969*,

En effet, Fleury avait des liens étroits avec la royauté capétienne. Le successeur d'Abbon (988–1004), Gauzlin (1004–30), passait pour un fils bâtard d'Hugues Capet et Philippe I^{er} fut enterré dans l'abbatiale de Saint-Benoît en 1108.⁶ C'est à Fleury qu'Helgaud (m. 1048) rédigea vers 1033 la *Vie du roi Robert* — la première biographie d'un roi de Francie occidentale — construite sur le modèle d'une hagiographie laïque.

Les relations de Fleury avec l'Angleterre débutèrent vers le milieu du X^e siècle et s'intensifièrent sous Abbon et Gauzlin.⁷ Le premier avait séjourné à Ramsey en 985–87, avant de devenir abbé de Fleury, et rédigea une *Vie de saint Edmond*, roi d'Est-Anglie tué par les Danois.⁸ Nous savons d'après la *Vita Oswaldi* de Byrhtferth de Ramsey qu'Oda, archevêque de Cantorbéry (941–58) envoya à Fleury son neveu Oswald, futur évêque de Worcester (à partir de 961) puis archevêque d'York (971–92) et Germanus, l'un des protégés d'Oswald, séjourna sept ou huit ans dans cette abbaye avant de diriger la communauté de Westbury récemment fondée. Par ailleurs, Æthelwold, évêque Winchester (963–84), alors qu'il était encore abbé d'Abingdon, chargea son disciple Osgar — vers 954–64, probablement avant novembre 963 — de ramener de Fleury des instructions pour suivre convenablement la règle de saint Benoît.⁹ Des scribes et des artistes anglo-saxons travaillèrent

éd. par René Louis (Auxerre: Publications de la Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne, 1975), pp. 25–33 (p. 33).

⁶ D'après Adémar de Chabannes Gauzlin était le fils bâtard d'un *nobilissimus Francorum princeps*. La *Vie de Gauzlin* suggère simplement que l'abbé avait la condition d'un homme noble. Cette filiation royale est maintenant remise en cause. L'indication donnée par Adhémar est insuffisante pour en faire un fils d'Hugues Capet (Laurent Theis, *Robert le Pieux: le roi de l'an mil* (Paris: Perrin, 1999), p. 88, n. 1).

⁷ Frère Denis Gremont et frère Donnat, 'Fleury, le Mont Saint-Michel et l'Angleterre: à propos du manuscrit d'Orléans no. 127 (105)', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, 1: *Histoire et vie monastique*, éd. par Jean Laporte (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1967), pp. 751–93 (pp. 769–77); Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1989), p. 24; Pierre Riché, *Abbon de Fleury: un moine savant et combatif (vers 950–1004)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 14, 32–33.

⁸ Riché, *Abbon de Fleury*, pp. 30–46.

⁹ Byrhtferth de Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, éd. et trad. par Michael Lapidge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), pp. 38–56 et 64–66; Wulfstan de Winchester, *Life of St Æthelwold*, éd. et trad. par Michael Lapidge et Michael Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 26 et n. 2. Plus généralement, pour les relations de Fleury avec l'Angleterre, *ibid.*, p. 27 n. 3; Louis Gougaud, 'Les Relations de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire avec la Bretagne et les îles britanniques (X^e et XI^e siècles)', *Mémoires de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, 4 (1923), 3–30; Michael Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchester, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', dans *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his*

vraisemblablement à Fleury, qui par ailleurs entretenait des relations avec le monastère de Winchcombe.¹⁰ Plusieurs manuscrits anglo-saxons vinrent enrichir la bibliothèque de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. Il est possible qu'une partie de ces liens avec l'Angleterre aient transité par la Normandie et notamment le Mont Saint-Michel. Le 'Sacramentaire de Winchcombe' (réalisé dans cette dernière abbaye ou à Ramsey vers 985(?)-1009 et conservé à la Médiathèque d'Orléans MS 127 (cat. gén. 105)), contient des additions ajoutées au XI^e siècle au Mont sous l'abbatit de Mainard II (991-1009) peut-être lors du transport de l'Angleterre à Fleury.¹¹ Il est certain que des liens spirituels unissaient vers le même moment Fleury et l'abbaye montoise, qui inscrivit plusieurs abbés de l'établissement ligérien sur ses nécrologes et martyrologes.¹² Ces relations entre Fleury et le sanctuaire montois se développèrent — pas toujours de manière cordiale — à la faveur de l'implantation des moines de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire en Avranchin au début du XI^e siècle, à la suite des donations faites par Robert, comte d'Avranches, et de Guillaume I^{er} de Bellême, qui confia à Fleury peu avant 1030 l'établissement qu'il avait récemment fondé à Lonlay.¹³ Dans l'immédiat, cette installation prolongeait l'influence exercée par les Capétiens et les comtes du Maine dans cet espace frontalier entre la Normandie et la Bretagne. Par la suite cette attraction pâtit du basculement de l'Avranchin dans l'orbite ducal durant les années 1050.¹⁴

Sixty-Fifth Birthday, éd. par Michael Korhammer, collab. Karl Reichl et Hans Sauer (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), pp. 99-129.

¹⁰ Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, p. 26; Riché, *Abbon de Fleury*, p. 70; Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus'.

¹¹ *The Winchcombe Sacramentary* (Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 127[105]), éd. par Anselme Davril, Henry Bradshaw Society, 109 (Londres: Boydell, 1995), pp. 8, 23-24, et pour le texte, aux pp. 279-80. Voir Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, no. BF538 et en dernier lieu Richard Gameson, 'La Normandie et l'Angleterre au XI^e siècle: le témoignage des manuscrits', in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge*, Actes du colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (4-7 octobre 2001), éd. par Pierre Bouet et Véronique Gazeau (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2003), pp. 129-59 (p. 154); Véronique Gazeau, *Normannia monastica* (X^e-XI^e siècle), I: *Princes normands et abbés bénédictins* (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2007), p. 147, n. 630.

¹² Jean Laporte, 'Les Obituaires du Mont Saint-Michel', dans *Millénaire monastique*, éd. par Laporte, pp. 730-39 (pp. 725-41); Gremont et Donnat, 'Fleury, le Mont Saint-Michel et l'Angleterre', pp. 752-60.

¹³ Voir en dernier lieu Éric Van Torhout, 'Centralité et marginalité en Neustrie et dans le duché de Normandie: maîtrise du territoire et pouvoirs locaux dans l'Avranchin, le Bessin et le Cotentin (VI^e-XI^e siècles)' (thèse pour le doctorat d'histoire, Université Denis Diderot (Paris VII), 2008), pp. 531-34.

¹⁴ Van Torhout, *Centralité et marginalité en Neustrie et dans le duché de Normandie*, pp. 534, 537; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, I, 103; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 251, pp. 759-62 (1067).

L'influence de Fleury semble s'être surtout limitée à la Normandie occidentale.¹⁵ Le premier abbé de Lonlay, Guillaume, venait de Fleury; il fut établi à un moment le Passais échappait à l'influence normande. Saint-Benoît fournit également un abbé à Saint-Sever, dans le sud du Cotentin sans doute peu après 1122.¹⁶ C'est d'abord de l'ouest de la principauté normande que proviennent les informations originales concernant le duché. Dans la *Vie de Gauzlin*, qu'il rédige vers 1042, André de Fleury s'attarde sur la première famille des comtes d'Avranches et sur les Bellême, qui étaient les principales familles bienfaitrices du monastère.¹⁷

Hugues de Fleury et la dynastie normande

Hugues passe pour le dernier représentant de l'école historique de Fleury.¹⁸ Nous savons fort peu de choses de l'auteur. Aussi appelé Hugues de Sainte-Marie, l'homme se fit moine à Fleury vers la fin du XI^e siècle.¹⁹ Son œuvre est en revanche mieux connue. Hugues composa vers 1102/1105 un traité (*De regia postestate et sacerdotali dignitate*) où il traitait du problème, alors brûlant, des rapports entre le pouvoir royal et le pouvoir spirituel. Il composa quelques années plus tard une *Vie* de saint Sacerdos, évêque de Limoges, et poursuivit le récit des *Miracles de saint Benoît* composés dans l'abbaye depuis le IX^e siècle. Hugues s'illustra surtout par deux grands récits historiques, une *Historia ecclesiastica* et le *Liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus* (ou *Historia nova Francorum*), auxquels il faut ajouter une chronique à l'usage des moines de Sarlat qui lui avaient demandé de composer la *Vie* de saint Sacerdos. Les travaux d'Alexandre Vidier, d'André Wilmart, de Nico Lettinck et de Robert-Henri Bautier permettent de dégager les étapes de la composition de

¹⁵ Notons cependant que Gérard, abbé de Saint-Wandrille (1008–29 ou 1031), introduisit dans son établissement les usages de Fleury, probablement parce que son maître, Herbert, était venu de Saint-Père de Chartres, réformé vers 962–67 par Vulfade de Fleury (Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, I, 215–16).

¹⁶ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, I, 196, 220, 239.

¹⁷ André de Fleury, *Vie de Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury*, éd. et trans. par Robert-Henri Bautier et Gillette Labory, Sources d'histoire médiévale, 2 (Paris: CNRS, 1969), § 15–16, pp. 46–50; § 22b, pp. 62–64, § 30, p. 72.

¹⁸ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'L'École historique de l'abbaye de Fleury d'Aimoin à Hugues de Fleury', dans *Histoires de France, historiens de la France*, éd. par Yves-Marie Bercé et Philippe Contamine, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: Champion, 1994), pp. 59–72 (pp. 71–72).

¹⁹ Dom Laporte, sans preuves, suggérait une origine normande qui rattacherait Hugues à la famille de Sainte-Marie en Cotentin (Jean Laporte, 'Fleury', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. XVII (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1971), p. 450.

l'œuvre historique d'Hugues.²⁰ Ce dernier rédigea deux versions successives de l'*Historia ecclesiastica*. La première, en quatre livres (1109), allait de Ninus à la mort de Charlemagne et était pourvue de deux lettres (à Adèle de Blois et à Yves de Chartres) et d'un épilogue adressé à la même Adèle. L'autre en six livres fut rédigée un an plus tard (1110). Elle était introduite par les deux lettres à Adèle et Yves dans une version remaniée, et prolongeait le récit jusqu'à l'empereur byzantin Michel III (842–67) et la mort de Lothaire (855). Le *Liber qui modernorum regum Francorum* fut rédigé plus tard et dédié à Mathilde l'Emperesse.²¹ La datation précise n'est pas connue, mais elle est postérieure à 1114, année du mariage de Mathilde avec l'empereur Henri V, et sans doute antérieure à 1125.²² Selon Nico Lettinck, il y a un lien évident entre l'épilogue de la première version de l'*Historia ecclesiastica* et le prologue du *Liber*, qui en est le prolongement.²³ Hugues y exaltait Guillaume le Conquérant, rappelait à Adèle les liens dynastiques avec Rollon et promettait

²⁰ Vidier, *L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les Miracles de Saint-Benoît*, pp. 76–81; André Wilmart, 'L'Histoire ecclésiastique composée par Hugues de Fleury et ses destinataires', *Revue bénédictine*, 50 (1938), 292–305; Nico Lettinck, 'Pour une édition critique de l'"Historia ecclesiastica" d'Hugues de Fleury', *Revue bénédictine*, 91 (1981), 386–97. Voir aussi L. M. de Ruitter, 'An Indispensable Manuscript for the Reconstruction of Hugh of Fleury's *Historia Ecclesiastica*: MS Vat. Reg. Lat 545', dans *Media latinitas: A Collection of Essays to Mark the Occasion of the Retirement of L. J. Engels*, éd. par Renée I. A. Nip et autres (Steenbrugge: St Pieter Abbij, 1996), pp. 329–33 et Elisabeth Mégier, 'Karl der Grosse, das römische Reich und die Kirche in franko-normannischer Sicht: der Standpunkt Hugos von Fleury', dans *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen*, éd. par Franz-Reiner Erkens (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), pp. 221–33. Voir en dernier lieu Elisabeth Mégier, 'Hugues de Fleury, les Amazones, et la présence de la mythologie grecque dans l'historiographie médiévale normande', dans *L'Historiographie médiévale normande et ses sources antiques*, éd. par Marie-Agnès Lucas Avenel et Pierre Bauduin (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, à paraître).

²¹ Celle-ci porte le titre impérial dans le prologue que lui adresse Hugues.

²² Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 25–26. Les fiançailles avaient été décidées en 1109 et Mathilde avait été présentée à son futur époux en février l'année suivante (pp. 16–17, 22). Alexandre Vidier (*L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les Miracles de Saint-Benoît*, p. 80) considérait que le *Liber* n'était pas antérieur à 1114; Régis Rech lui attribue la date de 1122; Robert-Henri Bautier suggère que le texte a pu être écrit après le remariage de Mathilde avec Geoffroy de Bel, comte d'Anjou (1127). Cette dernière date nous paraît tardive. Le manuscrit de Liège (fol. 104^v) place l'*explicit* de l'ouvrage (*Explicit historia nova Francorum*) avant des notes annalistiques qui débutent par la mort de l'empereur Henri V en 1125. La date de 1115 est admise par Nico Lettinck et Elisabeth Mégier. Pour Marjorie Chibnall (*Empress Matilda*, p. 46) l'ouvrage s'adressait à Mathilde (née en 1102) alors qu'elle était encore une très jeune fille, ce qui nous ramène plutôt vers cette première borne chronologique.

²³ Lettinck, 'Pour une édition critique de l'"Historia ecclesiastica"', pp. 391–92, 396.

d'écrire un ouvrage sur l'histoire des Francs et des Normands depuis la mort de Louis le Pieux: il s'attela à cette tâche dans le *Liber*, mais dédia l'ouvrage à Mathilde. Il est possible que ce projet ait été élaboré dès 1110, au moment de la seconde rédaction de l'*Historia ecclesiastica*, dont Hugues retrancha les louanges adressées à Guillaume le Conquérant et les éléments relatifs aux ancêtres d'Adèle, comme pour les tenir en réserve pour son prologue du *Liber*. Si l'on retient cette hypothèse, elle milite en faveur d'une rédaction assez rapprochée entre les deux œuvres. On peut conjecturer que le mariage de Mathilde avec Henri V a amené Hugues à changer la destinataire d'une œuvre promise peu auparavant à Adèle.

Il convient d'insister sur les liens qu'Hugues entretenait avec la dynastie anglo-normande. Les deux principales œuvres historiques d'Hugues sont dédiées, nous l'avons vu, à la sœur et à la fille d'Henri I^{er} Beauclerc. Vers 1102/05 le moine de Fleury avait rédigé à l'intention de ce même roi le *Tractatus de regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate* où il adoptait, sur la question des investitures, une position modérée assez proche d'Yves de Chartres.²⁴ Dans son traité, Hugues développait une conception traditionnelle des rapports entre les deux pouvoirs, royal et ecclésiastique, en réaffirmant que le pouvoir royal était issu de Dieu et que le rôle du roi était de conduire son peuple sur le chemin de l'équité et de la justice. Ses idées étaient assurément partagées par Henri I^{er} et dans la ligne de celles qui permirent de régler le problème des investitures en Angleterre (concile de Londres, 1107).²⁵ Un aspect ou un indice de cette proximité avec la dynastie anglo-normande réside peut-être dans le récit de la mort de Guillaume le Roux rapporté par Hugues. L'événement a frappé les contemporains et a été rapporté par différents auteurs.²⁶ Les plus proches des faits (*Chronique anglo-saxonne*, Eadmer restent peu discrets).²⁷

²⁴ Hugues de Fleury, *Tractatus de regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate*, éd. par Ernst Sackur, dans *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, MGH Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum, 3 vols (Hanovre: Hahn, 1891-97), II (1892), 465-94.

²⁵ Judith A. Green, *Henry I, King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 90-91; *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, I: A.D. 871-1204, éd. par Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett, et Christopher N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), II, 707, n. 2.

²⁶ Pour un synopsis de ces sources, voir en particulier C. Warren Hollister, 'The Strange Death of William Rufus', dans Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (Londres: Hambledon, 1986), pp. 59-76; Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (Londres: Methuen, 1983), pp. 420-25; Emma Mason, *William II Rufus, the Red King* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), pp. 219-24. Ces travaux ne paraissent pas avoir utilisé le *Liber* d'Hugues de Fleury.

²⁷ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, éd. par Dorothy Whitelock, David Douglas, et Susie Tucker (Londres: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), p. 176; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, éd. par Michael

Il faut attendre deux décennies ou plus pour que, sous la plume de Guillaume de Malmesbury au milieu des années 1120 et d'Orderic Vital en 1135, la mort du roi soit racontée de manière détaillée, parfois en tentant de concilier des traditions différentes.²⁸ En admettant une fourchette chronologique large (1115–25), la relation d'Hugues serait de peu antérieure ou exactement contemporaine de celle des *Gesta regum Anglorum* et pourrait avoir été la première à rapporter de manière quelque peu détaillée l'accident qui coûta la vie à Guillaume le Roux. Le moine de Fleury se fit l'écho des prodiges qui avaient été dès le début du XI^e siècle associés à la mort du roi ainsi que des appréciations portées par les contemporains, qui virent dans le décès brutal du souverain un jugement de Dieu à l'encontre d'un pécheur opiniâtre. Si Hugues ne nomme pas le *miles* responsable du geste malheureux qui coûta la vie à Guillaume, il donne en revanche les circonstances précises de l'accident: voulant transpercer un cerf, le chevalier envoya une flèche qui, par un brusque mouvement en arrière, frappa le roi.²⁹ Sa version diffère sensiblement de celles données par Guillaume de Malmesbury et Orderic Vital, mais se rapproche du récit — ou plus exactement d'une des deux variantes de l'événement — qu'en fit Wace une cinquantaine d'années plus tard.³⁰ L'une des versions rapportée par le *Roman de Rou* raconte en effet que la flèche envoyée par Gautier Tirel dévia de sa trajectoire, visiblement après avoir ricoché contre un arbre, un mouvement qui éclaire de manière assez convaincante l'expression *sagitta retrorsum acta* employée par Hugues de Fleury.³¹ Il est évident que la mort de Guillaume le Roux donna lieu à des développements narratifs différents, dont les auteurs du XII^e siècle se font l'écho dans leurs œuvres. Sur un fond commun qui inspira les chroniqueurs, différentes versions de l'incident circulaient et celle que transmet Hugues de Fleury paraît suffisamment autonome pour qu'on puisse la distinguer des autres traditions. L'intérêt est ici qu'il nous est donné de lire l'un des premiers développements de cette affaire sous la plume d'un auteur visiblement proche de la famille royale anglo-normande.

Swanton, 2^e edn (Londres: Phoenix, 2000) p. 235; Eadmer, *HN*, p. 116; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, cap. XLIX, in *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, éd. par Richard William Southern, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 126.

²⁸ *GR*, I, 572–77 (IV, 332–33); *OV*, v, 288–90 (x, 15).

²⁹ Les premières narrations de l'événement — *Chronique anglo-saxonne* et Eadmer — ne le font pas davantage. Le premier à désigner Gautier Tirel est Guillaume de Malmesbury.

³⁰ Wace, II, 258–59, lignes 10067–10074; *The Roman de Rou*, trans. by Glyn S. Burgess (Saint-Hélér: Société Jersiaise, 2002), pp. 310–12.

³¹ L'autre version indique que Gautier Tirel trébucha en s'empêtrant dans son manteau. Wace se montre auparavant très prudent sur la responsabilité éventuelle de Tirel.

D'où provenaient les informations transmises par Hugues de Fleury? En l'absence d'une édition critique récente de l'œuvre, il est encore difficile d'établir les voies par lesquelles ont transité les données compilées par l'auteur. Hugues bénéficiait des ressources de la bibliothèque de son monastère, assurément l'une des plus riches du royaume.³² Ses prédécesseurs avaient accumulé depuis un siècle des matériaux historiographiques qui avaient alimenté la production historique réalisée à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.³³ Georg Waitz, Philippe Lauer et Alexandre Vidier ont observé les emprunts de l'auteur aux *Annales breves Floriacenses*, aux *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, à l'*Historia Francorum Senonensis*, aux *Annales* de Flodoard, à la chronique d'Hugues de Flavigny, aux *Gesta Francorum* d'Aimoin, aux *Miracles de Saint-Benoît*, à l'*Historia Jerosolimitana* de Baudry de Dol et à des sources normandes, mais sans toujours identifier clairement, en dehors de Guillaume de Jumièges. Il est très probable que le moine de Fleury eut à sa disposition une version du *De Moribus* de Dudon de Saint-Quentin, dont il cite mot pour mot certains extraits.³⁴ Hugues serait ainsi peut-être le premier auteur français à avoir employé l'œuvre du chanoine de Saint-Quentin et figure comme un jalon précieux attestant la diffusion de cette dernière. Disposait-il sur place de l'ouvrage? L'essai de reconstitution de la bibliothèque de Fleury par Marco Mostert ne permet pas de l'établir. Hugues a-t-il pu recevoir des ouvrages prêtés par un établissement normand? Nous avons vu que des échanges de livres ont pu s'établir entre le monastère ligérien et le Mont Saint-Michel.³⁵ L'abbaye montoise disposait probablement du récit de Dudon de Saint-Quentin. Selon Gerda Huisman, un des manuscrits du texte de Dudon (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Phillipps 1854), fut écrit au Mont durant le dernier quart du XI^e siècle avant d'être envoyé à Fécamp (comme don?) où il figure dans le catalogue du XII^e siècle de la bibliothèque fécampoise.³⁶

³² Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, pp. 24–27.

³³ Bautier, 'La Place de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire', p. 31.

³⁴ Pierre Bauduin, 'Autour d'un rituel discuté: le baisement du pied de Charles le Simple au moment du traité de Saint-Clair-sur-Epte', dans *Des châteaux et des sources: archéologie et histoire dans la Normandie médiévale, Mélanges en l'honneur d'Anne-Marie Flambarb Hélicher*, Textes réunis par Elisabeth Lalou, Bruno Lepeuple, et Jean-Louis Roch (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2008), pp. 29–47 (pp. 37–38). Le texte d'Hugues de Fleury est généralement plus proche de celui de Dudon que des *GND*.

³⁵ Ajoutons que la bibliothèque du Mont renfermait l'un des deux manuscrits connus du *Tractatus de regia potestate* d'Hugues de Fleury. Sur ce point et plus généralement les relations entre les deux abbayes voir Gremont et Donnat, 'Fleury, le Mont Saint-Michel et l'Angleterre', pp. 756–57.

³⁶ Gerda Huisman, 'Notes on the Manuscript Tradition of Dudo of St Quentin's *Gesta Normannorum*', *ANS*, 6 (1983), 122–35 (p. 130).

L'histoire normande dans celle du royaume

Le *Liber* débute avec le commencement du règne de Charles le Chauve, qu'Hugues relie à la bataille de Fontenay-en-Puisaye (841) et s'achève en 1108/09, avec la mort de Philippe I^{er}, l'avènement de Louis VI et la mort d'Alphonse, 'roi d'Espagne'.³⁷ Dans la lettre dédicatoire, il explique à Mathilde qu'il veut 'faire connaître à la postérité la grandeur de votre origine et d'apprendre aux siècles à venir la noblesse de vos ancêtres'. De là la généalogie placée au début du propos et que nous avons citée plus haut. Mais l'histoire et les actions des ducs de Normandie doivent être replacées dans un cadre plus large qui est celui des 'modernes rois des Francs, c'est-à-dire de ceux qui ont régné depuis l'empereur Louis [le Pieux]'. Hugues reprend le programme qu'il avait adressé à Adèle dans l'épilogue de l'*Historia ecclesiastica*, où il proposait à la princesse d'écrire un autre livre 'pour chanter brièvement vos ancêtres, Danois et Normands, aussi bien que les faits des rois des Francs depuis l'empereur Louis, fils de Charles, jusqu'à nos jours'.³⁸ L'intérêt est précisément de considérer comment un historien français du début du XII^e siècle inscrit l'histoire normande dans cette première synthèse dédiée à l'histoire des rois des Francs.

L'épisode des invasions normandes est introduit par l'entrée en scène de Hasting, qu'Hugues place après la mort du *basileus* Michel III (867), elle-même datée de manière très approximative.³⁹ Le moine de Fleury ne s'étend pas sur la carrière du pirate, même s'il en retient quelques épisodes rapportés par ses devanciers normands.⁴⁰ Son propos n'est pas de dresser l'archétype du barbare mais plutôt l'occasion de rappeler la faiblesse des Francs qu'il attribue à la bataille de Fontenay-en-Puisaye où la force de la *Francia* était tombée, laissant ainsi le pays dépourvu de guerriers. Ce thème se retrouve aussi chez Hugues de Flavigny, Guillaume de Jumièges et, de manière moins explicite, dans l'œuvre de Dudon.⁴¹ Incapable de vaincre les pirates

³⁷ Cette mort d'Alphonse VI de Castille (1^{er} juillet 1109) est le dernier événement rapporté par le *Liber*.

³⁸ Hugues de Fleury, *Historia ecclesiastica* (extraits), éd. par Georg Waitz, MGH Scriptores, 9 (Hanovre: Hahn, 1851), pp. 349–64. L'épilogue est à la p. 353: 'si vobis placuerit, libro tam attavorum vestrorum, Danorum scilicet atque Normannorum, quam regum gesta Francorum ab imperatore Ludovico, Karoli Magni imperatoris filio, usque ad haec nostra tempora breviter decantabo'.

³⁹ *Liber*, p. 378.

⁴⁰ Par exemple, l'attaque du Vermandois et de Noyon, l'expédition de Hasting à Luna.

⁴¹ Hugues de Flavigny, *Chronicon*, éd. par Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH Scriptores, 8 (Hanovre: Hahn, 1848), pp. 280–503 (p. 353); *GND*, I, 10 (I, i). Le thème de la terre désarmée car privée de guerriers, se retrouve également chez Dudon (ex. Dudo, II, 26, p. 166).

par les armes, le roi des Francs doit traiter avec Hasting, qu'il couvre d'or et dont il fait plus tard un *familiaris regis*, un 'ami' (*ex inimico amicus*). Hugues rejoint ici la tradition normande, qui fait également état du *foedus* conclu entre Hasting et les Francs. Il s'en démarque toutefois en présentant le personnage sous un jour moins négatif. Le Hasting de la tradition normande se défait des traités, sans égard pour la parole donnée, et son alliance avec le roi était l'occasion de le présenter comme un traître à sa race. Sous la plume du moine de Fleury, il apparaît comme le prédécesseur de Rollon, engagé sur la voie du compromis avec les Francs. Hugues donne également deux informations inédites. Il indique que Hasting était habituellement dénommé *Gurmundus*. Plus loin, il le qualifie de *rex* et de *propincus* de Rollon.⁴² Ces indications légendaires sont étrangères à l'historiographie du duché. Il est possible que la première affirmation se fasse l'écho d'une tradition épique qui inspira la chanson de geste *Gormont et Isembart* probablement composée au début du XII^e siècle.⁴³ La matière de celle-ci se retrouve dès la première moitié du XI^e siècle sous la plume du moine Hariulf.⁴⁴ Quant à la *propinquitas* entre Rollon et Hasting, elle n'est pas autrement explicitée dans le récit d'Hugues de Fleury, mais elle témoigne de la vitalité des traditions qui rattachent Rollon à des personnages légendaires que l'on retrouve, par exemple, sous la plume de Richer dès la fin du X^e siècle.⁴⁵

Les principaux développements sur les incursions normandes s'inscrivent dans les passages que l'auteur consacre à Rollon. L'analyse des événements rapportés et des sources qui inspirent Hugues nécessiterait une étude plus détaillée que celle envisagée ici. Hugues puise dans la tradition historiographique de son monastère — dont les éditeurs des travaux d'Alexandre Vidier notaient, pour les invasions

⁴² *Liber*, p. 378.

⁴³ P. Bauduin, *Le Monde franc et les Vikings VIII^e–X^e siècle*, L'évolution de l'humanité (Paris: Albin Michel, 2009), pp. 313, 379, n. 2.

⁴⁴ Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, éd. par Ferdinand Lot, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'Histoire (Paris: Picard, 1894), pp. xxxix–xl, et lib. III, XX, pp. 139–44 (*De regibus Francorum et de Guaramundo pagano sub quo ecclesia nostra combusta est*). Voir sur ce point Jean Carles, 'Le *Ludwigslied* et la victoire de Louis III sur les Normands à Saucourt-en-Vimeu (881)', in *La Chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien: mélanges René Louis, publiés par ses collègues, ses amis et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, éd. par Emmanuèle Baumgartner et autres (Saint-Pierre-sous-Vézelay: Musée archéologique régional, 1982), I, 101–09 (pp. 106–09).

⁴⁵ Richer, *Histoire de France (888–995)*, I, 28, éd. et trad. par Robert Latouche, Les classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Âge, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1930–37), I, 64. Richer fait d'un certain Catillus/Ketill — dont il relate par ailleurs la capture, le baptême et la mort sous le règne du roi Eudes (*ibid.*, I, 9, I, 24–30) — le père de Rollon.

vikings, la richesse et la complexité — et les articule avec d'autres.⁴⁶ Concernant l'entrée de Rollon dans la vallée de la Seine, il retient la date de 876 admise par l'historiographie normande et s'inspire de celle-ci pour décrire brièvement les activités en Francie et en Angleterre avec visiblement le souci d'insérer l'histoire du chef normand dans une trame chronologique cohérente, à défaut d'être exacte. Le retour de Rollon en Francie est l'occasion de dresser un tableau des dévastations perpétrées par les *Dani* au IX^e siècle, dont la prise de Nantes et le meurtre de l'évêque Gunhard (843) rapportés dans des termes similaires à ceux des *Miracles de saint Mesmin*, rédigés par Létald de Micy à la fin du X^e siècle.⁴⁷ Le récit de la campagne menée par Rollon en Bourgogne s'inspire de la trame du texte de Dudon de Saint-Quentin, qui rapportait la venue des Normands jusqu'au monastère de Saint-Benoît.⁴⁸ Mais là où le chanoine picard avait mis en exergue la déférence du chef normand pour le saint, dont il refuse de profaner le sanctuaire et de dévaster la province environnant le lieu, Hugues de Fleury reprend le texte de l'*Illatio sancti benedicti* du moine Thierry d'Amorbach (début XI^e siècle).⁴⁹ Ce récit rapporte la fuite des moines à Orléans, où ils déposent les reliques de saint Benoît, le pillage du monastère de Fleury par les Normands, au cours duquel périrent soixante religieux, et la vengeance que le saint tira de ce forfait par l'intermédiaire de l'avoué Gisolfus, qui poursuivit et vainquit les assaillants. La suite relate la reconstruction du monastère et le retour en ces lieux du corps de saint Benoît. Sous la plume d'Hugues, le chef normand est directement associé à l'épisode et plus généralement aux maux infligés par les pirates. Il est intéressant de constater que les deux traditions, si elles divergent sur l'attitude des Normands, s'accordent néanmoins sur la venue de Rollon à Fleury.

Après avoir rapporté la bataille de Chartres, Hugues retrace les faits qui conduisent à la conclusion de l'accord de Saint-Clair-sur-Epte et au baptême de Rollon. Là encore les emprunts à la tradition normande sont évidents.⁵⁰ Hugues

⁴⁶ Vidier, *L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les Miracles de Saint-Benoît*, Addenda, pp. 253–54.

⁴⁷ Létald de Micy, *Miracula sancti Maximi abbatis Maciacensis*, cap. III, dans PL, 137, col. 804.

⁴⁸ Dudo, II, 21, p. 161.

⁴⁹ Vidier, *L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les Miracles de Saint-Benoît*, pp. 170–76. Le texte est rapproché du chapitre 41 du livre I des *Miracles de saint Benoît* rédigé par le continuateur d'Adrevald, Adelier. Il convient cependant de distinguer les deux récits (ibid., pp. 162–64, 174).

⁵⁰ Dudo, II, 30, p. 170: 'Anno igitur a Domini nostri Jesu Christi incarnatione nongentesimo duodecimo, Franco archiepiscopus catholica fide sacrosanctae Trinitatis imbutum Rollonem baptizavit; duxque Francorum Rotbertus de fonte Salvatoris eum suscepit. nomenque suum ei imposuit;

cependant ne s'étend pas sur les négociations, ni sur le rôle de Charles le Simple comme pour mieux mettre en exergue l'implication de Francon et du *dux* Robert. La teneur de l'accord est brièvement rapportée, dans des termes qui méritent attention.⁵¹ Hugues mentionne que Charles donne sa fille en mariage à Rollon, un fait généralement ignoré de l'historiographie française. Le territoire accordé s'étend de l'Andelle à la mer et il n'est pas question d'une cession de la Bretagne: ainsi formulée, cette clause ressemble davantage à la proposition faite par les Francs au cours des négociations rapportée par Dudon qu'à celle indiquée lors du traité de Saint-Clair-sur-Epte.⁵² Surtout, ce territoire est 'donné' *jure beneficii* et Hugues ne mentionne pas le geste de recommandation demandé au chef normand à cette occasion. Cette réécriture, qui laisse (intentionnellement?) de côté les prétentions normandes sur la Bretagne, semble manifester l'intention de souligner le caractère gracieux de la cession territoriale consentie à Rollon, qui n'est liée en aucune manière à la prestation de ce que l'on aurait pu, au début du XII^e siècle, comprendre comme un hommage vassalique.⁵³ Se fait-il l'écho des préoccupations politiques de son temps? Il est certain qu'au moment où il écrit, la question de l'hommage pour la Normandie se posait de manière particulièrement aiguë pour Henri I^{er} Beauclerc.⁵⁴

Hugues de Fleury ne s'étend pas sur la succession des premiers ducs de Normandie. Il évoque celle de Rollon, n'aborde pas celle de Richard I^{er} et occulte

magnisque muneribus et donis honorifice ditavit.' A comparer avec *Liber*, p. 381: 'Anno ergo incarnationis dominicae 912, Franco Rothomagensis archiepiscopus catholica fide diligenter imbutum sepefatum Rollonem unda baptismatis purificavit, et dux Rotbertus illum a salutifero fonte suscepit.' Hugues de Fleury avait déjà indiqué auparavant que Robert 'illum a sacro fonte levavit, et imponens ei suum nomen, eum magnificis muneribus honoravit.'

⁵¹ *Liber*, p. 381: 'Demum vero rex Korolus illi filiam suam nomine Gillam, dans illi jure beneficii Neustriam, quam nunc Normanniam vocitamus, a fluvio Andelle usque ad oceanum mare.'

⁵² Dudon, II, 25, p. 166.

⁵³ Hugues emploie *jure beneficii* en lieu et place de l'expression *in alodo et in fundo* utilisée par Dudon. L'emploi du vocabulaire féodal, et en particulier de *beneficium*, a fait l'objet de débats considérables (voir en particulier Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 133–45; Felice Lifshitz, "Translating "Feudal" Vocabulary: Dudo of Saint-Quentin", *HSJ*, 9 (1997), 39–56). Visiblement Hugues ne souhaite pas placer la cession de ce qui devient le duché de Normandie dans un cadre féodal et emploie *jure beneficii* dans le sens d'une concession gracieuse. Il évoque plus tard la recommandation de Guillaume Longue Épée au roi Raoul dans des termes qui insistent sur la liberté du prince normand (*Liber*, p. 382: 'se commisit proprio voto').

⁵⁴ Green, *Henry I*, pp. 118–19, 162–63, 228.

Richard III.⁵⁵ Rien ne semble perturber la continuité dynastique, quitte pour cela à taire des informations transmises par Hugues de Flavigny dont l'auteur se sert pourtant pour cette période. Robert le Magnifique succède ainsi à son père Richard II, sans que soient mentionnés ni Richard III ni les difficultés ou les soupçons qui ont entouré le règne et la mort de ce dernier.⁵⁶ Les troubles qui accompagnent les premières années de Guillaume le Bâtard (*adolescens Guillelmus*) sont l'occasion de présenter le roi de France Henri I^{er} comme le garant de la succession ducal: c'est grâce à l'intervention du roi que le *successor* de Robert le Magnifique, 'deshérité' (*exheredatus*) par les Normands put regagner son héritage (*meruit heredari*), après que le roi eût vaincu les adversaires du duc et avoir placé à leur tête, par la force, le jeune Guillaume.⁵⁷ Sous la plume d'Hugues, les droits de Guillaume sur le trône anglais sont incontestables et trouvent leur origine dans l'adoption du duc par Édouard le Confesseur, qui lui laisse son royaume. La succession du Conquérant est rapportée dans des termes inhabituels:⁵⁸

Guillaume, roi des Anglais, eut pour successeurs les trois fils qu'il avait eus de Mathilde, sœur de Baudouin, comte de Flandre, à savoir Robert, Guillaume et Henri, et Adèle leur sœur. Robert, qu'il avait eu avant son avènement, fut fait comte des Normands, et Guillaume, engendré une fois qu'il était devenu roi, obtint son royaume. Adèle, leur sœur, fut mariée à un homme nommé Étienne, comte de Chartres, de Blois et de Meaux.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *Liber*, p. 381. Hugues de Flavigny avait présenté ces événements de manière assez similaire (Lib. II, 30, p. 402 : 'Willelmus fraude suorum Normannia pulsus, Robertum [*sic*] Francorum expetivit regem, qui bello et manu valida congressus, victis et prostratis Normannis, de traditoribus iudicio dato comitatum ei restituit').

⁵⁶ '[Richard] reliquit [*sic*] sibi successorem filium suum Rotbertum' (*Liber*, p. 387); 'Rotbertus, Richardi principis Normannorum heres et filius' (*Liber*, p. 388). Pour Hugues de Flavigny (Lib. II, 28, p. 401): 'Obiit quoque Richardus Normannorum dux a. inc. Dom. 1026, et successit Richardus III, et eodem anno defunctus est. Post quem Robertus comitatum Normanniae adeptus.' On remarque que l'arrivée au pouvoir des deux princes, Richard III (*successit*) et Robert (*comitatum Normanniae adeptus*) est rapportée dans des termes différents.

⁵⁷ *Liber*, p. 388.

⁵⁸ *Liber*, p. 391: 'quorum Rotbertus, quem privatus genuerat, factus est comes Normannorum; Guillelmum vero, quem rex factus genuerat, regnum ejus assecutus'. Le terme *privatus* ('particulier') fait clairement allusion au statut de Guillaume avant son accession au trône anglais.

⁵⁹ *Liber*, pp. 389–90. Hugues de Flavigny mentionne également la donation du royaume à Guillaume et insiste sur la *consanguinitas* des deux princes, sans toutefois parler d'adoption (Lib. II, pp. 409–10: 'eodem anno Etwardus Anglorum rex obiit; qui quia sine filiis fuit, consanguineum suum Wilelmum Normannorum comitem post se regnare instituit. Sed Heroldus, contra sacramentum quod Willelmo fecerat, regnum invasit'). Les deux auteurs, quoiqu'en des termes différents, insistent sur l'illégitimité du geste de Harold qui s'empare du royaume. Hugues de Flavigny

En effet cette présentation de la succession anglo-normande est inédite.⁶⁰ Nous ne nous attarderons pas sur l'inexactitude concernant la chronologie de la naissance de Guillaume le Roux, né en fait avant la Conquête. L'originalité tient à l'argumentation avancée par l'auteur et selon laquelle le royaume devait aller à celui qui était de naissance royale, excluant par là même Robert Courteuse. Henri Beauclerc est le grand absent de la succession, alors que le sort de sa sœur Adèle est évoqué. Mais l'argument pour expliquer le partage effectué légitimait par avance l'accession au trône d'Henri qui, pour le coup, était 'né dans la pourpre'. Cette naissance dans le lit royal était invoquée par le rédacteur de la *Brevis relatio*, exact contemporain (v. 1114–20) d'Hugues de Fleury.⁶¹ Servait-elle l'idéologie royale en affermissant le pouvoir d'Henri I^{er} Beauclerc? C'est probable. Quoi qu'il en soit, Hugues de Fleury se montre particulièrement discret sur l'accession au trône d'Henri et surtout sur les développements politiques récents du monde anglo-normand. La scène où le chroniqueur rapporte la mort de Guillaume le Roux se termine par un laconique 'Il [Guillaume] eut pour successeur son jeune frère Henri, un homme sage et modeste', sans rien dire de la précipitation avec laquelle ce dernier s'assura du pouvoir en Angleterre.⁶² Hugues ne traite pas davantage de la lutte qui opposa Henri à Robert Courteuse — dont il rapporte pourtant la participation à la Croisade —, ni de son épilogue, la capture du duc par le roi et le rassemblement de l'héritage de Guillaume le Conquérant. Ce silence, de la part d'un auteur qui s'adresse à la fille d'Henri, s'explique difficilement. Une des raisons réside peut-être

relaie clairement l'accusation de parjure portée contre Harold. Ce n'est pas le cas du moine de Fleury, dont le récit est cependant plus détaillé et mentionne le chiffre de sept cent navires rassemblés par Guillaume de Normandie.

⁶⁰ La succession de Guillaume a été abondamment discutée. Pour une mise au point sur les sources et les débats qu'elles ont suscités, voir en particulier Barbara English, 'William the Conqueror and the Anglo-Norman Succession', *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), 221–36; Emily-Zack Tabuteau, 'The Role of Law in the Succession to Normandy and England, 1087', *HSJ*, 3 (1991), 141–69; et dernièrement George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 152–85; William Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy c.1050–1134* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 99–103.

⁶¹ The *Brevis relatio de Guillelmo nobilissimo comite Normannorum*, éd. par Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, dans *Chronology, Conquest and Conflict in Medieval England*, Camden Miscellany XXXIV, 1997, Camden fifth series, 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 1997), pp. 1–48, § 10 (p. 37): '[Henri] coronam regni Anglie suscepit cunctique letati sunt quod modo regem natum de rege et regina natum et nutritum in Anglia habere meruissent.'

⁶² *Liber*, p. 392: 'Cui successit frater ejus junior Henricus, vir sapiens atque modestus.'

dans la réticence que manifesta Henri I^{er} à se proclamer duc de Normandie après sa victoire et son souci d'inscrire son règne dans la continuité de celui de son père.⁶³

L'exploration du *Liber* nécessiterait une analyse plus approfondie que celle esquissée dans ces pages. Hugues consacre des développements assez conséquents sur les règnes de Guillaume Longue Épée et surtout de Richard I^{er}, dont il retrace précisément les démêlés avec Louis IV et, plus tard, Thibaud le Tricheur, comte de Blois. Dans sa présentation de l'histoire de la principauté de Rouen au X^e siècle l'auteur intercale les notations annalistiques, principalement empruntées à Flooard et à Hugues de Flavigny, à ses sources normandes. Ce faisant, Hugues donne au passé normand une cohérence chronologique qui ne se trouvait pas dans les œuvres des premiers chroniqueurs du duché et l'intègre en même temps dans une histoire plus générale du royaume.

Son récit apporte peu d'informations inédites, mais l'auteur est visiblement au fait des préoccupations de la dynastie anglo-normande aux membres de laquelle il adresse ses ouvrages.⁶⁴ Hugues eut également accès à des sources normandes relatant l'histoire des premiers ducs. Il a visiblement une conscience assez nette de l'identité normande et distingue clairement les *Dani* des *Normanni* à partir du moment où Rollon est installé en Neustrie et baptisé. Pour autant son regard est celui d'un historien extérieur au duché pour qui la Normandie est partie intégrante du royaume de France. En cherchant à associer l'histoire des rois de France à celle des aïeux de Mathilde, le moine de Fleury entreprenait un projet original: une histoire franco-normande?

⁶³ Judith Green, 'La Bataille de Tinchebray: un tournant dans l'histoire de la Normandie et de l'Angleterre', dans *Tinchebray 1106–2006: Actes du Colloque de Tinchebray (28–30 Septembre 2006)*, éd. par Véronique Gazeau et Judith Green, issue spéciale, *Le Pays Bas Normand*, nos 271–72 (2009), pp. 47–60 (pp. 49–50).

⁶⁴ Outre celles déjà évoquées, indiquons qu'Hugues (*Liber*, p. 384) cite parmi les guerriers appelés par Richard I^{er} contre Thibaud le Tricheur non seulement des Danois (*Dani*), mais également les *Alani* et les *Deiri* dans lesquels on reconnaît parfois les habitants du royaume danois d'York (Lesley Abrams, 'England, Normandy and Scandinavia', dans *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, éd. par Christopher Harper-Bill et Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), pp. 43–62 (p. 44). Plus loin dans son récit (p. 387), il relate un pèlerinage de Richard II à Jérusalem nullement attesté par ailleurs et fort douteux.

Appendice

Note sur le texte du Liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus

Le texte est connu par deux manuscrits. Le plus complet, en provenance de Saint-Trond, est conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'université de Liège (MS 79). Le second, incomplet, est à la Bibliothèque nationale de France (MS lat. 6186). L'édition de Georg Waitz a été ensuite reprise par Jacques-Paul Migne dans la *Patrologie Latine* (PL, 163, cols 874–912). Philippe Lauer a publié un extrait de cette édition 'avec les corrections nécessaires' en appendice de son édition des annales de Flodoard (*Annales*, éd. par Philippe Lauer, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'Histoire (Paris: Picard, 1905), App. VI, pp. 211–19). Le *Liber* avait attiré l'attention de Robert-Henri Bautier qui en projetait une nouvelle édition (Robert-Henri Bautier, 'La Place de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire dans l'historiographie française du IX^e au XII^e siècle', dans *Études ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales: mémoires et exposés présentés à la Semaine d'études médiévales de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire du 3 au 10 juillet 1969*, éd. par René Louis (Auxerre: Publications de la Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne, 1975), pp. 25–33; Bautier, 'L'École historique de l'abbaye de Fleury d'Aimoin à Hugues de Fleury', dans *Histoires de France, historiens de la France*, éd. par Yves-Marie Bercé et Philippe Contamine, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: Champion, 1994), pp. 59–72.

Le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de l'université de Liège (MS 79) comporte plusieurs pièces indiquées sous différents numéros dans le catalogue du XIX^e siècle (Mathieu Fiess et Mathieu Grandjean, *Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège: catalogue des manuscrits* (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1875), nos 18, 152, 505, 735). S'y trouvent l'*Expositio in omnes veteris testamenti libros* de Paterius (no. 18), le texte du concordat de Worms de 1122 (no. 505) et le *Contra Berengarium de veritate corporis et sanguinis domini* de Lanfranc (no. 152). Le *Liber* d'Hugues de Fleury (no. 735) est inséré entre le concordat et le *Contra Berengarium*. C'est cette version qui a servi à établir l'édition des MGH par Georg Waitz. Le manuscrit semble avoir été copié au XII^e siècle. Si le copiste paraît d'abord avoir envisagé un travail soigné, rehaussé de lettrines ornées de dessins à la plume, il est manifeste que ce projet ne fut pas mené à bien. À plusieurs reprises il porta des corrections, ici sur des lettres mal copiées, là en biffant des mots, ailleurs en ajoutant dans la marge des mots ou des phrases manquants et le nombre de ces errata devient plus important à mesure que l'on avance dans le manuscrit. Certains passages paraissent avoir été

biffés intentionnellement, pour corriger des erreurs. C'est le cas au folio 98, où le rédacteur se rendit compte d'une mention erronée, attribuant à Hugues Capet un fils, dénommé Hugues, qu'il aurait associé au trône avant que ce dernier ne meure du vivant son père. Un peu plus loin, c'est l'inhumation d'Otton II à Aix la Chapelle — autre erreur manifeste pour cet empereur enseveli à Rome —, qui est raturée. Un examen paléographique approfondi du texte serait nécessaire pour analyser les reprises de l'écriture, qui suggèrent que le (ou les) rédacteur(s) n'écrivit pas d'un seul jet le récit. Je remercie vivement Monsieur Olivier Donneau, responsable des manuscrits et incunables de l'université de Liège, de nous avoir transmis une reprographie du *Liber*. Il m'est agréable d'associer à ces remerciements Isabelle Draelants, chargée de recherche CNRS (Université de Nancy 2).

Le manuscrit de Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6186 (probablement XIII^e siècle) est un volume composite qui rassemble une vingtaine de pièces très différentes (cf. *Catalogus codicorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regis*, pars tertia, IV (Paris, 1724), pp. 212–13) dont une liste des évêques de Rome (fols 128–32^v) qui va jusqu'à Clément IV (1265–68). Le récit d'Hugues de Fleury est copié aux folios 30^v–47^v après la *Vita Karoli* d'Eginhard. Le texte en est incomplet et s'arrête aux événements de l'année 949. Cette rupture est brutale et le texte enchaîne immédiatement sur une courte notice relatant les différends entre les Églises de Chartres et de Seclin sur les reliques de saint Piat, évêque de Tournai, en 1143. On ignore si la copie revenait ensuite au texte d'Hugues de Fleury. En effet, la fin du texte relatif à saint Piat devait être copiée sur le folio suivant, comme l'attestent les lettres portées au bas du folio 47^v pour annoncer la suite de la copie sur un nouveau feuillet ou sur un nouveau cahier. Au lieu de cela, l'actuel folio 48 et les suivants portent un passage d'une chronique sur l'histoire des rois Francs depuis Mérovée, dont il manque le début. Cette lacune entre les actuels folio 47 et folio 48 a été constatée dès le XIV^e ou le XV^e siècle, comme en témoigne la note 'Hic desunt multa' rédigée à cette époque en bas du folio 47^v.

THE *ROMAN DES FRANCEIS* OF ANDREW DE COUTANCES: SIGNIFICANCE, TEXT, AND TRANSLATION

David Crouch

The Poem and its Author

There have been two previous editions of this intriguing poem, the earliest published in 1842 by Achille Jubinal (1810–75) in a collection of medieval French verse. Jubinal's text was in fact provided for him by the then young English antiquary Thomas Wright (1810–77). Wright transcribed it from the only extant copy, which is to be found in BL, Additional MS 10289, fols 129^v–132^v.¹ The only other edition since then has been that by Tony Holden, published with a brief study of the text in 1973.² This new annotated edition and translation is offered in order to give wider access to the poem, which has a considerable significance for the study of both Anglo-Norman history and the racial rhetoric of the twelfth century. Previous editions have offered serviceable texts to the reader, but no translation or commentary on its historical significance. The corrupt nature of the text has not made it easy for historians to use the *Roman*. The poem is relatively short, a mere 394 octosyllabic verses organized into quatrains, or stanzas of four mono-rhymed lines. (Originally there were 396 lines, but two have been lost due

¹ *Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux et autres pièces inédites des XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, 2 vols (Paris: Edouard Pannier, 1839–42), II, 1–17. I would like to thank Adrian Tudor for generous help and assistance with the edition and translation. If there are errors in this text, they are mine and not his.

² 'Le *Roman des Franceis*', ed. by Anthony Holden, in *Études de langue et de littérature du moyen âge offertes à Félix Lecoy*, ed. by Anthony Holden (Paris: Champion, 1973), pp. 213–25.

to the errors of a thirteenth-century copyist.) Its title derives from the rubric in the manuscript *Ici se comence le romanz des franceys* (fol. 129^v). It is sometimes called 'Arflet' from its concluding *Explicit Arflet* (fol. 132^v), Arflet (Aldfrith) being the king of 'Northumberland' who supposedly wrote it in the form of a letter addressed to his fellow Englishmen.³

The *Roman*'s codicil tells us that it was written by one 'Andreu' (line 385) and that he was a cleric, a *bon devin* (line 395). He has been identified as the author of another work contained in Additional MS 10289 (fols 64^r–81^v), the *Roman de la Resurrection*: a vernacular version of the Gospel of Nicodemus in rhyme.⁴ This second work has something further to say about its author, who calls himself in it *mestre Andreu de Costances* (fol. 64^r). Andrew dedicated this work to his cousin, 'the lady of Tribehou' (fol. 65^r), a place now in the département of Manche. His toponym, the dedication, and the fact that Additional MS 10289 derives from the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel indicates that Andrew was a well-connected cleric of the Cotentin peninsula whose poems were copied into a collection of vernacular works compiled for the abbey in the later thirteenth century. Other than that his title of *magister* would indicate that he was educated in an institution of some distinction. His evident knowledge of the city of Paris perhaps indicates that he had studied in one of its schools.

The date of Andrew's *Roman des Franceis* is not easy to establish, though Tony Holden is right to say it is 'unthinkable' (*impensable*) that it could have been composed after 1204, and the fall of Normandy to the French.⁵ It undoubtedly postdates the publication of Wace's *Roman de Brut*, which it heavily trawls for its depiction of the duel between Frolo and King Arthur. Since Wace's work was in circulation by 1160 Andrew has to have written his poem after that date. There is not much else we can use to narrow the date. However, the *Roman*'s reference to 'patarines' as generalized heretics (line 35) does open up the possibility that the *Roman des Franceis* was composed after the decrees of the Third Lateran Council in 1179, which heavily condemned them in these terms: 'the loathsome heresy of

³ The poem calls itself a *brief*, line 317, and a *chartre*, line 385.

⁴ For a published text, see *Trois versions rimées de l'Évangile de Nicodème par Chrétien, André de Coutances et un anonyme*, ed. by Gaston Paris and Alphonse Bos, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1885), pp. 76–236. For a contextual study, see Lydie Lansard, 'De l'Évangile de Nicodème au *Roman de la Résurrection* d'André de Coutances', *Apocrypha*, 16 (2005), 229–51, who dates the work to the end of the twelfth century, contemporary with the *Roman des Franceis* (p. 230n).

⁵ 'Le *Roman des Franceis*', ed. by Holden, p. 215.

those whom some call the Cathars, others the *Patrini*, others the Publicani' (c. 27).⁶ According to Walter Map writing around 1180, Henry II forcibly expelled a group of *patareni* from England, and he says also that they were unknown in his time in Normandy.⁷ Map was referring back to events of the 1160s when a group of Cathars arrived in England, subsequently to be expelled in 1166.⁸ Accounts of the 1160s do not call them 'patarines', however. Patarines would thus seem to have been a concern of Anglo-Norman clerics around 1180, and Map's use of the term parallels Andrew's. Neither knew the history of the term *paterini* or what it signified, but, like the Decrees of the Third Lateran Council, they took it as a generalized term for heretics.

A date for the work in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century is the more likely as the *Roman* has some evident antecedents in Franco-Norman racial diatribes in Latin verse which were in circulation in the 1160s. There are two principal surviving examples. The first, from the French side, is the dramatized trial of the claims of Henry II and Louis VII to the Norman Vexin written by Peter Riga, canon of Reims, around 1160.⁹ The second, deriving from a Norman writer, is the dialogue between a Frenchman and a Norman on the subject of Henry II's 1169 campaign in the same region written by Stephen of Rouen, monk of Bec-Hellouin.¹⁰ Similar tracts may lie behind Andrew's resentment at what he claims are French attacks on the integrity of the Arthurian legend, which was much used at the Angevin court to bolster the prestige of Henry II's kingship.¹¹ Specifically he says that French writers attempted to undermine Wace's account of the conquest

⁶ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. by Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), I: *Nicaea I to Lateran V*, p. 224: 'quos alii Catharos, alii Patrinos, alii Publicanos'.

⁷ Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by Montague Rhodes James, rev. by Christopher N. L. Brooke and Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 118–20. Map derived the word *patareni* from the sect's supposed capacity for complaisance (*a paciendo*).

⁸ *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1: *A.D. 871–1204*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett, and Christopher N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), II: *1066–1204*, pp. 920–25.

⁹ J. Barthélemy Hauréau, 'Un poème inédit de Pierre Riga', *Bibliothèque de l'École de chartes*, 44 (1883), 7–11.

¹⁰ Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, in Howlett, *CRSHR*, II, 690–95.

¹¹ It is worth noting that the playful form of the *Roman des Franceis* echoes Stephen of Rouen's imaginary Latin verse letter from King Arthur to Henry II of England, which would indicate it arose out of the same thought world: Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, pp. 697–705.

of France by Arthur, which was a feature of the Arthurian legend since its inception by Geoffrey of Monmouth (c. 1136).¹² The composition of the *Roman* perhaps best fits the circumstances of the period 1180x94, before the Third Crusade irrevocably changed the relationship between the Capetian and Angevin monarchies. The signs it bears of the influence of an Angevin propaganda machine which had appropriated Arthur to the line of kings of the *English*, not the Britons, is another indicator of a later date.¹³

The Significance of the Work

The *Roman des Franceis* has an interest out of proportion to its length. This lies in two principal areas. The first is its use of the Arthurian legend; the second is in its racial rhetoric, and in particular the virulent anti-French propaganda it offers. Andrew de Coutances drew his Arthurian knowledge from at least two sources. The most obvious is the Anglo-French canon of Arthurian tales commenced and inspired by Geoffrey of Monmouth. This is the source of Andrew's single combat at Paris between Arthur and Frollo, 'king' of France. In the *History of the Kings of Britain* (c. 1136), Geoffrey makes Frollo a Roman tribune ruling Gaul under the Emperor Leo.¹⁴ Andrew's version of the combat between Arthur and Frollo owes something to the retelling of the incident by his compatriot Wace in his *Roman de Brut* (c. 1160). Though Wace notes that Paris was then in Gaul and that Frollo was a Roman official, he nonetheless calls the country and people Frollo ruled *France* and *Franceis*. Wace, like Andrew, has the French excessively taking God's name in vain.¹⁵ The details of the combat, with Frollo unhorsed and then cut down, are broadly drawn from Geoffrey and Wace, though the burlesque treatment of the French and Frollo's cowardice are all Andrew's own. Geoffrey and Wace depict Frollo as courageous and concerned for his people's well-being.

¹² Note that Wace himself refers to French attacks on Norman identity in their explanation of the phrase 'la gent de northmendie' (the Norman people) as 'the beggars of the north' ('del north mendiant'): Wace, lines 75–80.

¹³ Martin Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154–1224*, trans. by David Crouch (Harlow: Longman, 2007), pp. 150–52.

¹⁴ *The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, vol. 1: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 568, ed. by Neil Wright (Cambridge: Brewer, 1984), p. 108.

¹⁵ *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British*, ed. and trans. by Judith Weiss, rev. edn (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), lines 9914–10104.

Andrew's other Arthurian source material is more individual. He clearly had access to a cycle of Arthurian tales not within the Anglo-French canon. The incident of Arthur's combat with the cat, Capalu, is not to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth or Wace. There is however scattered material to tell us where it ultimately came from. The ancient Welsh triads refer to the monster-cat Cath-Paluc, which haunted the isle of Anglesey.¹⁶ The material in the triads goes back well before the eleventh century, as does the ancient poem 'Pa W'r Yw'r Porthor', where the expedition of Cei, Arthur's companion, to fight the cat is described.¹⁷ The idea of Arthur's fight with a monster cat can be found elsewhere in the Anglo-French cycle of tales. Two Arthurian references not long after Andrew wrote associate Arthur independently with a cat-monster. In *Galeran de Bretagne* (a work of the late 1190s deriving from the Île-de-France) the hero wins a game of chess with a certain bad grace and is reproved with the example of Arthur, whom a 'cat' killed by trickery.¹⁸ Likewise in the *Bataille Loquifer* (c. 1200), a giant called Rainouart fights Chapalu — a monster with the head of a cat and body of a horse — in Avalon in the presence of Arthur amongst others.¹⁹ Clearly Andrew de Coutances had access to lost non-canonical tales of Arthur of some antiquity, though his precise source will never be known.

Andrew's anti-French rhetoric is perhaps the most significant area of the poem. It certainly betrays a deep Norman antipathy towards the French of the Capetian lands. In this it is not idiosyncratic. Stephen of Rouen, a monk of Bec-Hellouin writing in the 1160s, was equally virulent in his views. Andrew for his part attacked the French in several ways. He retaliated for the French slurs on Arthur with some snide comments about the epic literature celebrating France, notably the *Chanson de Roland*. Andrew's 'Sweet was France, and now it is sour' (line 58) mocks the *Chanson*'s lauding of France as *le dulce*.²⁰ The epic interjection 'Aoi!' found in the

¹⁶ *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: The Triads of the Isle of Britain*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich, 3rd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), pp. 473–76. For the element 'paluc', apparently meaning 'scratching' or 'clawing', see J. Lloyd Jones, 'Welsh Palach etc.', *Ériu*, 16 (1952), 123–31.

¹⁷ *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, ed. by Alfred Owen Hughes Jarman (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), pp. 66–68.

¹⁸ *Galeran de Bretagne*, ed. by Lucien Foulet, *Classiques français du moyen âge* (Paris: Champion, 1925), lines 5054–71.

¹⁹ *La Bataille Loquifer*, ed. by Monica Barnett, *Medium Aevum Monographs*, n.s., 6 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), lines 4163–67. On these manifestations and their significance, see Martin Aurell, *La Légende du Roi Arthur, 550–1250* (Paris: Perrin, 2007), pp. 226–29.

²⁰ *La Chanson de Roland: The Song of Roland, the French Corpus*, ed. by Joseph J. Duggan and others, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), I, 111, line 6 and *passim*, for the earliest (Oxford) version.

Chanson is used to highlight Frolo's idleness and reluctance to fight (lines 123–24). It may also be that the concluding list of provinces united in their approval of Andrew's verses (lines 389–94) mocks the list of the provinces tributary to Charlemagne in the *Chanson*.²¹

Andrew's slurs are paralleled and prefigured elsewhere.²² His characterization of the English as bon viveurs and excessive drinkers is found in Wace's caricature of their partying the night before Hastings and is paralleled by Jordan Fantosme in 1174 putting into the mouth of the Norman noblewoman, Petronilla de Grandmesnil, the insult that the English were poor warriors: 'they are better at quaffing great tankards and guzzling'.²³ The English themselves were not too unhappy with this mild slur. Soon after 1200, Peter de Blois attacked the Englishman Thomas Carbonel, abbot of Gloucester (1179–1205), who had joked that it was ale which made men generous and tolerant, and therefore Britain owed its glory to its beer.²⁴ Wace talks, like Andrew, of the pride of the French and their antipathy to the Normans.²⁵ But the most striking parallel to Andrew's *Roman* is the defence of

²¹ *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Duggan and others, I, lines 3026–95. Normandy of course features as tributary to Charlemagne and inferior to the Île-de-France in the list.

²² The Norman racial contempt for their neighbours is evident as early as the 1070s in the attitudes of William of Poitiers to the English and Bretons: *WP*, pp. 68, 74. Archbishop Lanfranc referred to the Bretons in a letter to the King in 1075 as 'excrement': *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 124. For a consideration of Norman racial contempt in Britain in the Anglo-Norman period, particularly as reformulated by William of Malmesbury, see John Gillingham, 'The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', *ANS*, 13 (1990), 99–118 (pp. 106–09); John Gillingham, 'Conquering the Barbarians: War and Chivalry in Twelfth-Century Britain', *HSJ*, 4 (1992), 57–84.

²³ Wace, lines 7323–34; *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by Ronald C. Johnston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 72. When the young William Marshal left Normandy to return to England in 1167, he later said he was warned by his cousin and lord, William de Tancarville, not to stay there, as England was no place for an active knight: *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Anthony J. Holden and David Crouch, trans. by Stewart Gregory, Anglo-Norman Text Society, Occasional Publication Series, 4–6, 3 vols (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002–07), I, lines 1537–50.

²⁴ *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, ed. by Elizabeth Revell, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi*, 13 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), no. 31, pp. 163–64. For an extended treatment of this form of negative stereotyping of the English, particularly evident in Andrew's generation, see Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity, 1066–c.1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 301–06.

²⁵ Wace, lines 45–49.

Henry II and his Norman army by Stephen of Rouen in 1169. He has the French condemning Henry II's attack on Chaumont thus:

There is no immortality in what Henry did, only immorality. His forbears were a villainous Viking, and a Welsh demon [an allusion to Arthur] who was a king without any judgement [Arthur failed to notice his wife's adultery] and no equal to a Frenchman nor to any Christian king.

Furthermore, like Andrew, he attacks the French for boasting of their martial prowess:

Always they go on about French valour but the French get beaten just the same. The least aggressive of Normans is a better swordsman than a Frenchman.

Likewise he attacks the French for their idleness:

Frenchmen live mostly on their backs in bed! Toil and endeavour are a Norman characteristic! The Norman earns his fame and spurns the lazy French. He is practised in arms and cheerfully takes on the cares of war, and would rather be on the battlefield than wasting his time in idleness.²⁶

The *Roman des Franceis* is a work which needs to be taken into closer consideration in the discussion of Angevin Normandy by historians. The *Roman* evokes and reveals elements of the lively intellectual combat between Normandy and Paris, in which the malicious and clever clerks of the schools engaged as the willing janissaries of the rival monarchies. Nothing could be more artful than to seize and subvert, as Andrew did, the developing legend of Charlemagne and his paladins, while simultaneously striking back at his opponents with the literary Excalibur of the Arthurian cycle. He was not alone in using this technique. His artful undermining of features of national myth is matched elsewhere by the Frenchman Peter Riga, who subverted the ancient Bedan characterization of the English (*Angli*) as angels (*angeli*). Riga lampooned the English thus: 'Take note! An Englishman is no angel, and unworthy of heaven, he is a confidence trickster (*angulus sceleris*) and a thief.'²⁷

This literary skirmishing can be seen to have been active and widespread in the later twelfth century, and it reflects the wider political and literary struggle which raged around the political identity of Normandy. A key instance of it occurs as early as 1148, not long before Wace composed racial digs against the French in his *Roman de Brut*. In that year an anonymous Norman poet took to his pen and

²⁶ Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, lines 889–90, 901–04, 917–19 (my translations). Peter Riga also rather artfully alludes to the English disdain for the way the French boasted of their valour: Hauréau, 'Un poème inédit de Pierre Riga', lines 163–66.

²⁷ Hauréau, 'Un poème inédit de Pierre Riga', lines 42–43.

praised the city of Rouen, mistress of the Normans, thus: 'Britain is your slave, its conquest accomplished by your power; the boastful Englishman, the cold-blooded Scot and the savage Welshman, alike pay you tribute with hands outstretched.' But this image arises out of deep anxiety. The poet's imperial characterization of Rouen as a new Rome and as the home of an empress, with surrounding nations as its slaves, was written within a few years of the city's forced surrender to the Count of Anjou in alliance with the King of France, the Count of Anjou whom the poem praises as a peace-giver and protector.²⁸ The poem's rhetoric is an exercise in damage limitation. For Rouen in 1148 was one city within a growing Angevin condominium and no longer the centre of the rule of the Norman king-dukes. The poet clung to the Empress Matilda's residence in her nearby palace-priory of Notre-Dame du Pré as some evidence that it was still at the centre of affairs.

It is in this context that we must set the Franco-Norman point-scoring of Wace, Stephen of Rouen, Peter Riga, and Andrew de Coutances. Norman identity needed shoring up because it was all too obviously fragile, a fragility as evident to the French as it was to the Normans. Abbot Suger's observation that Normandy was just a part of France introduced, as Lindy Grant has said, a 'dangerous ambiguity'.²⁹ It was perhaps for this reason that the *Chanson de Roland* was a work so distasteful to Andrew, as it says much the same. David Bates has demonstrated the existence of a parallel danger to Norman identity. As early as the 1120s William of Malmesbury was characterizing Normandy as a drag on English resources and a lesser partner in the Anglo-Norman condominium.³⁰ The *Roman des Franceis* indicates that by the 1180s the challenge to Norman identity had gone a lot further. While Andrew and his like may have sharpened the understanding of what it meant to be a Frenchman or a Norman by their rhetoric, in the end, as Andrew de Coutances unconsciously did, they betray why French identity would ultimately triumph over Norman. Peter Riga in 1160 attacked his king's Norman enemies by blithely stigmatizing them all as English, which could hardly have pleased the Normans. Andrew de Coutances could himself do no other than adopt something of the same strategy in his defence of his own people and native duchy. It is a king

²⁸ Charles Homer Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Harvard Historical Studies, 24 (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1918), p. 144n. For early comment on this irony, see Ralph Henry Carless Davis, *The Normans and their Myth* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), p. 54.

²⁹ Suger, *Vie de Louis le Gros*, ed. and trans. by Henri Waquet (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1929), p. 106. For comment, see Lindy Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy, c. 1120–c. 1270* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 14.

³⁰ David R. Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', *EHR*, 104 (1989), 851–80 (p. 867).

of the English who has to write his letter counter-attacking the French. French identity was being so mercilessly attacked by Andrew in later Angevin Normandy because he realized it was so obviously and dangerously on the rise, or *crescant*, as he himself put it, while the consciousness of being Norman was being diluted in a greater Anglo-Angevin condominium.

Text and Translation

The text as we have it is a later thirteenth-century copy of an earlier redaction: itself an intrusive and somewhat inept copy of what might have been Andrew's original. The copyist in Additional MS 10289 has taken care to colour alternately the opening initial of each quatrain in red and blue. This would have excluded the possibility of missing out lines, but some have nonetheless been omitted, and if not by him then they must have been omitted by a preceding copyist. This incompetent draughtsman may have also been the source of several annoying and misleading modifications of Andrew's original rhymes. The end words of some lines have been changed to conform to an earlier copyist's ideas of what the rhymes ought to be, which has compromised the sense of the verses. This is most obvious in line 85 where *amis* is written in a rhyme where the author can only have intended *auis*. Indeed the change means the word *amis* is duplicated, as it appears also in line 88, which would not have been Andrew's intention. There are a number of other instances of this meddling which are noted in the text. This putative intervening redactor has otherwise been sloppy. He wrote *Bailleis* where the text plainly demands *Gauleis* (line 80).

Text

This is a conservative critical edition in which editorial intervention has been kept to a minimum. Light modern punctuation has been added, and abbreviations have been expanded. However, diacritical marks have been kept to a minimum. Accents have not been suggested, the separation of words is not always made, and *trémas* have not been added to indicate separation from diphthongs/triphthongs or vowels to be sounded separately. General and specific conclusions regarding hypometric and hypermetric lines are left to the reader. Obvious scribal errors have been corrected and indicated in the footnotes. Minims have been retained in transcription.

Translation

The present translation aims to offer, as far as possible, a line-by-line reading of the Anglo-Norman. It is therefore less ‘creative’ than verse and less ‘free’ than prose. This does not always lead to an idiomatic translation, but is intended to help those using the translation as an aid to reading the Anglo-Norman. For this reason, the punctuation from the manuscript is reproduced, although again this is far from easy, but modernized in the translation. Nouns have been occasionally substituted for pronouns where a pronoun in English would lead to confusion, and have also been added where the syntax requires some explanation. The tenses are treated loosely where it makes the English more readable. Anglo-Norman allows for a mixture of narrative tenses, but whereas in that language such a practice heightens dramatic effect, in English it can lead to confusion.

[fol. 129^v, col. 1]

Reis Arflet de Nohundrelande		King Aldfrith (<i>Arflet</i>) of Northumberland
As boens beveors saluz mande		Gives good health to all merry boozers,
Les autres a maufez commande		The rest he damns to hell,
Quer il nes prise vne alemande		For he gives not a fig ³¹ for any of them.
Le viel Arflet ³² fu son ansestre	5	The King Aldfrith of long ago was his ancestor,
Qui des guides ³³ fu sire et mestre		Who was of rulers the lord and master;
Cil s'i enbat destre et senestre		The man he struck at both right and left
Tant quil en set quanqu'en puet estre		Knew about it for as long as he survived.
Mestre est des cerveises estales ³⁴		But <i>this</i> Aldfrith is master of clear ales,
Bien les conoist bones et males	10	And he knows them well, good or bad;

³¹ Literally, an almond.

³² *Le viel Arflet* is distinct from his descendant, the imaginary King Arflet who writes the letter. The elder Arflet is apparently intended to be Aldfrith of Northumbria (685–704), on whom Bede had much to say that was positive: *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 430. Achille Jubinal (*Nouveau recueil*, I, 1n) suggested ‘Alfred’ was the name intended, an identification which subsequent commentators have favoured but which has little to recommend it.

³³ Mario Roques, ‘Sur quelques mots anglais dans le *Roman des Franceis* d’André’, in *Mélanges de philologie et d’histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: Champion, 1927), pp. 377–81 (p. 380), suggests this is the English word ‘guilds’, but in the context the correction is unnecessary.

³⁴ Roques, ‘Sur quelques mots anglais’, p. 380, suggests the English ‘stale’ in the sense of a strong beer that has settled.

Bien est sire des escoles Des gestinges et des ervaes ³⁵	Indeed he is lord of cups, Of receptions, and of banquets.
De lui uos di endreite fei Que seuent a beu anz sei Et bien est veir dreit que endreit sei 15 Ne ueut que dechie guerseï	You could truly say of him That he often drank though he had no thirst, And it is true indeed that as far as he was concerned His only desire was to fall down dead drunk.
Rime ont de lui li Franceis Lez le pot ou bollent .vi. peis Par icestes meismes leis S'en uolent uengier li Engleis 20	The French have made poems about Aldfrith, Where they lie that his boiling pot was six pounds; And it is because of those very poems That the English want to get even with the French.
Il ont dit que riens n'a valu Et donc a Arflet n'a chalu Que bote fu par Capalu Li reis Artur en la palu	The French have said that no Englishman is worth a jot And Aldfrith is of no account And that King Arthur was kicked By Capalu ³⁶ into the mud.
Et que le chat l'ocist de guerre 25 Puis passa outre en Engleterre [fol. 129 ^v , col. 2] Et ne fu pas lenz de conquerre Ainz porta corone en la terre	And that the cat slaughtered Arthur in battle, Then crossed over to England, And that it gave up without a fight, So Capalu was crowned king there,
Et fu sire de la contree Ou ont itel fable trouee 30 Mençonge est Dex le set provee Onc greignor ne fu encontree	And was lord of England. Where did they find such a story? God knows it is an obvious lie, And no greater can be met with.
Mes li chaitif li espoue Li mal peu li tart cove	But the rascals, the mockers, The starvelings, the lazy dogs,

³⁵ For the sense of these English loan words, see Roques, 'Sur quelques mots anglais', pp. 379, 380.

³⁶ An apparently garbled (or deliberately reversed) reference to the Cath-Paluc, a monstrous feline associated with Anglesey in the early Welsh triads, for which see above. Bromwich's suggestion in the context of this poem that the fight in the bog or mud (*palu*) was devised to explain the etymology of 'Chapalu' is not sustainable; the author was devising verses not etymologies: Rachel Bromwich, 'Celtic Elements in Early Arthurian Romance: A General Survey', in *The Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Patricia B. Grouet and others, *Arthurian Studies*, 7 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1983), pp. 43–44.

Li patarin ³⁷ li endoue	35	The heretics, the rapists.
Ou ont il dautre. controue		Where have they yet been checked with it?
Trop ont dit d'Artur grant enfance		The French have talked too much drivel of Arthur,
Quer Artu fu de cel puissance		Because Arthur was a man of such power
Que Franceis conquist o sa lance		That he defeated the French with his onset,
Mauheritage mist en France	40	He left a bad taste in their mouths.
Bien sauon que Bien et Belin		We know very well that Brennius and Belinus,
Maximien et Costentin ³⁸		Maximianus and Constantine
Furent a Franceis malveisin		Were troublesome neighbours to the French
Et France orent cest la fin		And the French prayed that was all.
D'Engleterre furent tuit rei	45	All were kings of England,
Chescun conquist France endreit sei		Each conquered France in his own way,
Chescun en plessa la bofei		Each checked French arrogance,
Le gorgeir et le desrei		Insults, and aggression.
Au rei Artur lederaain		As to the last of them, King Arthur,
De celui sommes nost certain	50	We are quite sure of him,
[fol. 130 ^r , col. 1]		
Voudrent ³⁹ fere plet mes en vain		They wished to do him harm, but in vain,
Quer il les out bien sor ⁴⁰ sa main		Because he was well able to deal with them.
Quant de lor orguil s'auerti		When their arrogance had been overthrown
Maugre eus toz les conuerti		Despite their efforts, and when all had been put into
		servitude
Et le pais acuuerti	55	And their land subjugated;
Dites se ce est veir parti.		Ask them if that is distant from the truth!

³⁷ Originally an urban group called dismissively the *patareni* ('rag-pickers') in eleventh-century Milan, which supported the Gregorian agenda for reform of the clergy against their imperialist archbishop. The name passed into the French vernacular and was already being applied to Cathars by the historian Landulf Senior at the end of the eleventh century; see Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan', *TRHS*, 5th series, 18 (1968), 25–48 (p. 32n).

³⁸ Brennius, Belinus, Maximianus, and Constantine were fictional kings of Britain in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*: Brennius and Belinus were brothers who supposedly conquered Gaul and attacked Rome; Constantine (I) and Maximianus were likewise Britons who became emperors, Maximianus first conquering Gaul. Geoffrey, followed by Wace, used the conquests of these four as Arthur's justification for claiming the empire, *Wace's Roman de Brut*, ed. and trans. by Weiss, lines 10851–74.

³⁹ *Voudreit* in MS.

⁴⁰ *sor* repeated in MS.

James n'iert ior que il n'i pere		There will never be a day that Arthur is not known in France;
Douce este[it] France ⁴¹ or est amere		Sweet <i>was</i> France, and now it is sour;
Mout ourent en Artur dur pere		Arthur ground down the French,
Sa sorvenue mout compere.	60	His attack thrust them back.
Mout fu Artur proz et corteis		Arthur was accomplished and courtly;
Quant out conquis Chartres et Bleis		Once he had won Chartres and Blois,
Et Orlens et tot Estampeis ⁴²		Orléans and all the region of Étampes,
A Paris vint o ses Engleis.		He and his English came to Paris.
La uile asist n'en dotez mie	65	Arthur besieged Paris, doubt it not at all!
Mout out bone cheualerie		He had a large force of
Et bien estruite et bien garnie		Well-trained and equipped knights,
Si l'a fierement asallie.		So he fiercely attacked the city.
Engleis fierement assallirent		The English went on the attack,
Franceis merdement defendirent	70	And the French defended like cowards,
Au premier assaut se rendirent		They gave up at the first onset
Et hontosement s'en partirent		And shamefully ran away.
A cel partir fu apelee		It was from this flight (<i>partir</i>) that
Paris ci n'a nule celee		Paris got its name, there is no concealing it,
Qui primes fu Termes nommee	75	Originally the place was called Thermes ⁴³
Et mout ert de grant renomee		And was indeed very famous.
Frolles ert apele le reis		The king whom Arthur conquered
Qu'A[r]tur conquist o ses Engleis		With his Englishmen was called Frollo,
Et de Frolles sont dit Franceis		And the French are called that from Frollo's name
Qui primes ourent non Bailleis. ⁴⁴	80	Who previously had been called Gauls.

⁴¹ An ironical reference to the *Chanson de Roland* where France is customarily described as 'sweet' (*dulce*), for which see above.

⁴² This campaign sequence is not found in Geoffrey's *History* or in Wace's version of it. It is possible that Andrew derived it from a supposed campaign of the Viking Rollo, who attacked Étampes, Chartres, and Blois in his attempt to reach Paris; Wace, lines 730–1080.

⁴³ A reference to the well-preserved Roman baths in the heart of medieval Paris, the 'Thermes' in the grounds of the Hôtel de Cluny, on the Left Bank near the Sorbonne. These were the northernmost of a group of three extensive Gallo-Roman bath complexes in ancient Lutetia. The 'Thermes du Nord' preserve their original vaulting to this day and were reckoned by some early commentators to be a Roman palace: Paul-Marie Duval, *De Lutèce à Paris, capitale de la France* (Paris: Association pour la publication d'une Histoire de Paris, 1993), pp. 143–82.

⁴⁴ Most likely a mistranscription and 'Gauleis' was intended.

[fol. 130^r, col. 2]

Frolles⁴⁵ qui de France fu sire
 Ne sout que faire ne que dire
 Grant mautalent out et grant ire
 Franceis manda a vn concire

Frollo, who was lord of France,
 Had no idea what to do or say,
 He was full of malice and anger,
 He summoned the French to a council of war.

Li baron lont a ce auis⁴⁶
 Qui ses messages a tramis
 A Artur. si li a pramis
 Qu'encor porroient estre amis,

85 The barons favoured him with such advice,
 That he sent messengers
 To Arthur, so undertaking
 That they might yet be friends

Se de sa terre s'en issist
 Que a mout grant tort saisseist
 Et s'il ne la guerpisseist
 De bataille le aasteist,

If he departed from Frollo's land
 90 Which he had most wrongfully conquered,
 And if he would not lay waste to it
 Frollo would hold back from battle

Par eus dous que plus n'i eust
 Eissi le uoleit ce eust
 Cous rendist qui cous receust
 Et plus feist qui plus peust.

Between the two of them, as neither had more men,
 He wished him gone, this he should know;
 95 He who gave blows would get them back
 And the one who was most capable would achieve
 more.

Artur respondi 'Dex i ualle
 Defendre mei s'est qui masalle⁴⁷
 A Paris en lisle sanz falle
 Seit a demain ceste bataille.'

Arthur replied: 'The God who has raised me up
 Has the power to defend me in this.
 Tomorrow let there be without fail
 100 A combat at Paris on the Île de la Cité'

Deca et dela sunt certain
 De la bataille a lendemain
 Qui veintra tot eit en sa main
 Les bois. les uiles. et le plain.

On both sides they are sure
 That there will be a single combat the next day;
 The one who wins will have the lot,
 Woods, towns, and countryside alike.

Frolles durement menaca
 De iurer ne s'apereca

105 Frollo roundly threatens,
 He is not slow to curse,

⁴⁵ Frollo in the *History*, a name apparently invented by Geoffrey of Monmouth, rather than an evocation of Rollo, first leader of the Normans, or other contemporary similar-sounding names, such as Frodilo or Frodo: John S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Historia regum Britanniae' and its Early Vernacular Versions* (New York: Gordian Press, 1974), p. 132. Andrew is the first to draw a derivation of 'Franci' from 'Frollo'.

⁴⁶ *amis* MS. Clearly the transcriber is attempting to tidy up the rhymes (see below).

⁴⁷ Probably the verb *essalcier* was originally intended here, not *assailir*. The modified form attempts to reinforce the rhyme.

Dex tot par menbres depeca Que Artur mal s'i aproca.		He swears by all God's limbs That Arthur will not come well out of it.
A[rtur] qui n'out pas cuer de glace Preisa mout petit sa menace [fol. 130 ^v , col. 1]	110	Arthur, who is not a man without passion, Cared little for Frollo's threats,
Mieuz l'amast a tenir en pais ⁴⁸ Que uoer Dieu en mi la face.		He preferred to keep his peace Than spit out curses in God's face.
Artur qui out grant de sierrer Se fist matin aparellier Lui et Labagu son destrier Et se fist en lisle nagier	115	Arthur, who was very eager, Caused to be equipped that morning Himself and Labagu, his warhorse, ⁴⁹ And arranged that he be rowed to the Île.
F[rolles] iusqua tierce dormi Et lors quant il se desdormi Endeseetes s'estormi Com se l'eussent point formi.	120	Frollo slept as late as midmorning And then when he awoke, Raged like a mad man As if he had been pricked by a needle.
Franceis qui moroient d'ennui Li distrent 'Leverez uos hui?' Il dist 'Aoi!' ⁵⁰ et de nullui N'ont Franceis aol fors de lui.		The French, who were dying of boredom, Asked Frollo, 'Are you actually getting up today?' He cried, 'Aoi!' but none Of the French could raise a shout apart from him.
Tot en gesant sanz sei drecier Se fist F[rolles] aparellier Dilonc sunt Franceis costumier Que en gesant se font chaucier.	125	Lying flat out without stirring himself, Frollo got the French to equip him; For that is the way of the French, Getting their shoes on while lying down.

⁴⁸ *place*, MS. The rhyme works equally with 'pais', but clearly has been modified by the transcriber.

⁴⁹ In the tale *Culhwch and Olwen*, Arthur's mount (a mare) is called Llamrei, meaning 'grey' or 'swift leaper': *The Mabinogion*, trans. by Sioned Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 208, 274. In Bérout's *Tristan*, Arthur's horse goes by the name of Passelande: *Le Roman de Tristan: poème du XI^e siècle*, ed. by L. M. Defourques, *Classiques français du moyen âge* (Paris: Champion, 1982), line 3522. Labagu seems to be an invention of Andrew's to pad out an octosyllabic line.

⁵⁰ A comic use of the exclamation 'Aoi!' found between stanzas of the *Chanson de Roland*, for Andrew is mocking here the French of Frollo's army for being so unlike the heroes of the Carolingian epics. Though the *Roman's* text gives 'aol!' it is capitalized as 'AOI!' in the *Chanson*. The *Roman's* copyist probably substituted an 'L' for the capital 'T'. For a facsimile showing the use and placing of AOI in the earliest version of the *Chanson*, see *Chanson de Roland*, I, plate 1. For a discussion of the much-disputed meaning of the word, see Nathan Love, 'AOI in the *Chanson de Roland*: A Divergent Hypothesis', *Oliphant*, 10 (1984–85), 182–87.

- Ainz que F[rolles] se fust armez
 S'est tierce fiee pasmez
 Lors fu des Franceis mout blasmez⁵¹
 Mes il lor dist 'Ne vos tamez!
 Ce me vient de grant hardement
 Mort est A[rthur] veraement.'
 Lors les prist toz par serement
 Qu'il tendront son commandement.
 'Comment,' dit il, 'que il mauiege
 De mes bones mors vos souiege
 Mar i avra cil qui Div crienge
 Ne⁵² leaute a homme tiege.
 [fol. 130^v, col. 2]
 Cruel siez desmesure
 A uel fei mentie periure
 El vostre garder metz cure
 De l'autrui prenez a dreiture!
 Artur uos uoudra del sien tendre
 Prenez le sanz guerredon rendre!
 Ainz uos lessiez ardeir ou pendre
 Que le uostre veiez despendre.
 De dez siez boens joeors
 Et de Deu bons periureors
 En autrui cort richeeors
 Poi fesanz et boens vanteors.
 Acreez si ne rendez rien,
 Haez ceus qui uos ferunt bien,
 Plus ordement uiuez que chien
 Et siez tuit armeneisien!⁵³
- In this way was Frolo armed
 He was unconscious till midmorning;
 Then the French railed at him
 But he replied, 'Don't you fear!
 This is a result of my great boldness,
 Truly, Arthur is a dead man.'
 Then he got them to swear
 That they would accept his instruction.
 He said, 'Whatever happens to me
 Bear in mind my admirable manner of life;
 Accept no one who fears God
 Or keeps faith with man
 Be cruel beyond measure,
 Capricious, faithless, and perjured;
 Use every chance to look after your own interests,
 Take from everyone else as your right.
 Arthur desires to possess you as his own;
 Accept him, with no expectation of pay!
 Thus resign yourself to hang or burn
 As you watch him squander your goods.
 Be good gamesters of dice
 And happy perjurers in God's name
 Be haughty in any court
 Doing little and boasting much.
 Promise but don't deliver
 Despise those who do you good,
 Live more vilely than a dog
 And be in every way an "Armenian"!

⁵¹ *blasmet* in MS.

⁵² *De* in MS.

⁵³ The word is apparently unique, and may well be another modification of the redactor designed in this case to secure an octosyllabic line. It may be that 'armenien' was originally written, a word found around 1190 in Thomas of Kent, *The Anglo-Norman Alexander: Le Roman de toute Chevalerie*, ed. by Brian Foster (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1976), line 6595, where Thomas describes 'the Armenian lands' as on the edges of the known world and therefore perhaps rude and barbaric.

F[rolles] en France mist ces leis
 Bien le retindrent li Franceis
 Et encor i out il sordeis
 Mes ie n'en dire or ampleis

Quant arme fu a quel que paine
 Son mestre chambellenc accine
 'Va tost dist il et si te paine
 Que aie pullente aleine'

Cil conut bien sa volente
 Que d'allie s'ert demente
 Plain uessel l'en a presente
 Et il en menia a plente.

Ne se pout F[rolles] atenir
 Que des auz ne feist venir.
 [fol. 131^r, col. 1]

Tant por vsage maintenir
 Tant por Artur ensus tenir

Franceis qui deuant lui esterent
 D'aler en lisle se hasterent
 A quel que paine l'i menerent
 Laissiere[nt] le⁵⁴ si retournerent

F[rolles] remest sor son destrier
 A[rtur] vit uenir fort et fier
 Lors nout en lui que corrocier
 Quant vers lui le uit aprochier

Andui es estrius s'a fichierent
 Si que quant il s'entraprocherent
 Amedous lor lances bruiserent
 Et lor cheuaus s'agenoillerent

F[rolles] acuit a menecier
 Et A[rtur] trait le brant d'acier
 Quant F[rolles] vit le cop haucier
 A terre se lessa cachier

Et dist, 'Merci A[rtur] beausire
 Je sui recreant ne mocire.'

Frollo established these customs in France,
 And the French maintain them well,
 The worst men are there still,
 160 But I have said enough about that.

When Frollo was fully equipped, he was
 Belted up by his master chamberlain with much labour.
 He said, 'Get on with you, and may it annoy you
 That I have bad breath.'

165 Frollo knew well enough what he wanted,
 And to go through with the fight terrified him;
 A full plate was given him for his efforts
 And he ate his fill of it.

Frollo cannot keep loyal to him
 170 Nor make attend on him those

Whom he usually maintained,
 So many more Arthur had by his side.

The French who are with him
 Urge him to go to the Île de la Cité,
 175 And it takes them a lot of effort to drag him,
 They leave him there and then go back.

Frollo struggles on to his horse,
 Arthur comes upon him fierce and strong,
 At that point Frollo had no spirit in him
 180 When he saw Arthur riding towards him.

They both set themselves firm in their stirrups,
 So that, when they came together,
 They both broke their lances
 And their horses fell to their knees.

185 Frollo roused himself to threaten
 And Arthur drew his sword of steel;
 When Frollo saw the blow descend
 He threw himself to cower on the ground

Saying: 'Mercy, Arthur fair lord!
 190 I am unworthy, don't kill me!'

⁵⁴ *retor* deleted in MS.

- A[rtur] ne pout atremper s'ire
F[rolles] ocist n'en puis el dire.
- Franceis furent espoente
Quant lor rei virent gravente
A Artur se sont presente
Que d'eus face sa volente.
- Et il qui toz les uoleit pendre
Quant si humblement les vit rendre
Ne uout envers Deu tant mesprendre.
Par tote France fist defendre
- [fol. 131^r, col. 2]
- Qve nul ne ni eust pendu
Vie et membre lor a rendu
En autre sens lor a uendu
Que uers lui se sont defendu
- Quer il mist toz enseruage
Ou encor est tot lor lignage
Iloc donna en eritage
Artur. as Franceis cuertage.
- Franceis en lisle sen passerent
Lor rei qui mort ert enporterent.
En vn grant feu le cors boterent
Que por lui ardre alumerent.
- Deables furent en agait
Qui d'enfer ourent le feu trait
Donc il alumerent l'atrait
Qui por F[rolles] ardeir fu fait.
- Mout out cel feu male ensuiance
- Que diloc auient sanz doutance
Qu'encor en art en remembrance
Del feu d'enfer la gent de France
- De Franceis prist A[rtur] homage
Et il establi par [q]uitage⁵⁵
- Arthur could not restrain his wrath,
He killed Frollo, and there's no more to say.
- The French were dismayed
When they saw their king struck down,
They surrendered themselves to Arthur
So he might do his will with them.
- And he, who was happy to hang them all,
When he saw them surrender in humility
Had no desire to act wrongly in the sight of God.
He caused it to be forbidden throughout France
- That anyone be hung,
And granted them their life and limbs;
In another sense were they obligated
Because they had resisted Arthur,
- For he reduced them all to the status of serf,
In which all their descendants remain;
In that way Arthur devised on the French
The inheritance of serfdom.
- The French crossed over to the Île de la Cité,
They carried off their dead king,
And pushed his body into a great fire,
Which for him burned very brightly indeed.
- The devil was on the alert,
Who had the fires stoked in Hell,
From which he lit the bonfire
Which had been prepared for the burning of Frollo.
- This bonfire they had there had many bad consequences,
For without doubt
The recollection of the fires of Hell
Still sears the minds of Frenchmen.
- Arthur took homage from the French,
And he established as a release-payment

⁵⁵ *uitage* MS. The most sensible explanation of this word is that the redactor modified it from *quitage*, a known word deriving from the Latin *quietatio*, meaning an 'acquittance' or payment to

.iiii. deners de cuertage Por raandre lor cheuelage.		A four-pence charge for being a peasant To be paid as their poll tax.
Assez trovent qui lor recontre Cest hontage mes rien ne monte	225	People remind them often enough about This source of shame, but they may as well not have bothered;
Dece ne tienent ple ne conte Car il ne seuent auer honte.		For they take neither offence nor account, As they know no shame.
Ia Franceis celui n'amera Qui bien et ennor li fera [fol. 131 ^v , col. 1] Mes com il plus honi sera Et il .ii. tanz gorgeiera.	230	Such a Frenchman as does value virtue and honour Will not like it of course, But so far as he is the more ashamed He will boast twice as much.
Quer sauez que lui u esrez Ia mar Franceis de rien crerrez Sel querez ia nel trouerez ⁵⁶ Sel trouez ia prou ni auez.	235	So know that, wherever you go, Believe a Frenchman not at all; Seek indeed and you shall find But you find no prowess if there's none to be had.
Quant li Franceis veut cort tenir Et il se veut bel contenir Deu pain de segle fet venir Por sei richement contenir	240	Whenever a Frenchman wishes to hold court And to seem civilized in conduct, He has rye bread brought, So as to maintain himself handsomely
Et chescun en est par partie Sa dreite liureison partie. La croste seiurent de la mie Puis font entre els vne aramie		And everyone there on every side Has his due entitlement broken off; They slice the crust down the middle And then they start a fight
De sopes faire en la paele Quil n'i corent autre escuele. A trere les i a berele Tel ore est qui n'est mie bele.	245	Making bread-sops to dip in the saucepan As they have no other plate. The game is for them to pull them out, That's the way it is, and it's not very nice.
Mes il font vne autre veisdie Ne m'est or lai que nel uos die Qu'a traire les ni ait bordie Chescun d'un fil sa sope lie	250	But they do this other trick, And I'm no layman telling you this, Who in telling tales will embroider them: Each ties up his piece of bread by a string.

discharge an obligation. It would fit the circumstances here. For a contemporary use of *quitage*, see Thomas, *The Romance of Horn*, ed. by Mildred K. Pope (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1955), line 315.

⁵⁶ Matthew 7. 7; Luke 11. 9.

Vn fil tient chescun en sa main
 Tant que il a trempé son pain
 Si est de sa sope certain
 Tant comme il ueit son fil sain.

Mes quant il ront ou il desnooe
 Que la soupe deu fil descroe
 Donc ua la chose a male uoe
 Quer chescun dit que ele est soe.

[fol. 131^v, col. 2]

Donc orriez Dex desmenbrer
 Ventre langue gorge amenbrer
 Dieu ne porreit longues durer
 S'il enperout por son iurer.

Souent i a meinte aatie
 Et mainte coleé partie
 Mes il font vne autre establie
 Qui fet remaindre la folie.

Et il iugent que cil qui a
 Icel fil greignor dreit i a
 Sor sainz iure qui enlia
 Cele sope qui deslia.

L'estrif remaint et la meslee
 Quant il l'a a soe prouee
 Mes mout est souent esgardee
 Et enviree et golosee

Et quant il metent pot a feu
 Lez le pot asieent vn queu
 Lors n'i aureit ne ris ne geu
 Se il separteit de cel leu

Trop i porroit mesauenir
 Sagement l'estuet contenir
 Que por le bollon retenir
 Li estuet la cullier tenir

Se li bollon n'alout a droit
 A la char qui cuit mes charroit
 Quer tost fors del pot s'en saudroit
 Des que li bollon la saudroit.

Each Frenchman holds the string in his hand
 Until he has soaked his bread;
 255 In that way he can be sure of his sop
 So long as he sees his string is whole.

But when it breaks or gets stripped
 So that the bread-sop gets detached from the thread
 Then the business becomes a complete shambles
 260 Because each of them claims the bread is his.

Hear the Frenchman cut up God into pieces,
 Calling on his belly, tongue, and throat;
 God would not last long
 If he could be damaged by their oaths.

265 There are often many quarrels
 And many a blow exchanged,
 But to put a limit to the madness
 The Frenchmen make yet another rule.

They pronounce that he has the right
 270 Who keeps hold of the thread;
 Who swears on the saints he has attached
 The bread-sop which is unloosed.

The fight and the scrabbling abates
 When it is proved that the sop was his,
 275 But it is repeatedly discussed
 Revisited and relished.

When the French place a pot on the fire
 They station a cook next to it,
 It would be nothing to laugh or joke about
 280 If he wanders off from his post.

Too many things can go wrong at the fire,
 So it's best to behave soberly,
 To stop it boiling over.
 The cook needs to keep hold of the handle

285 In case the boiling does not go properly
 And the meat which is cooking goes wrong,
 For it may be tossed out the pot as a result of this
 If the water should boil up.

Si l'aueient perdue en fin		So then they should have lost the meat totally
Quer le chat entereit a fin	290	Because the cat might come in at the end
[fol. 132', col. 1]		
Ou la sori ou le poucin		Or the mouse or the chicken
Enportereit tot le bocin.		And one of them might take all the contents away.
A traire la deu pot s'esmaient		They are nervous of taking the meat out of the pot
Et quant ce est qu'il si essaient		And so far as they try doing it
Ce ne peut estre que il l'aient	295	It cannot be that they may obtain it
Se tote l'eue anceis ne traient.		If they do not first draw off the water
Et quant leue en est puree		And as soon as the water is out of the pot
Chascun aguete chescun bee		Each roots around and searches
Chescun fet oreison priuee		Making their private prayer
Que Dex dont qu'ele seit trovee.	300	That God grant they may find the meat.
Et quant il trouent cel merel		When they find their morsel
Lors sachiez que mout lor est bel		Then know that everything goes well with them!
Gragnor ioie en a eu hamel		Their village is then more joyful
Que outre mer deu feu nouel. ⁵⁷		Than is Jerusalem at the feast of the New Fire!
Donc est aporte li coteaus	305	Then one brings the knife
Si est detrenchie par morseaus		And the meat is cut up in slices
Petit mes de tel granz seuias		Small enough but still at least as big
Com cels dont l'en guie as meriaus		As the counters with which one plays games.
S'il auient que non per iait		If it happens that there is one piece over
Iloc n'a mie grant de hait	310	There is no small tension in the village,
Quer donc sont li de auant tret		Because of which the dice are brought out;
Qui Dieu donra plus poinz, si l'ait		The one gets it to whom God gives the most points.
Lor dobliers uolent nez tenir		The French are very keen to hold on to their napkins
Et cest legier a auenir		And they don't mind the trouble
Quer qui lor mengier ueit fenir	315	Because he who might see them complete their meal
De laste li puet souenir.		Would count it a miserable experience.
Arflet tesmoigne en son brief		Aldfrith declares in his letter
Quil meniuent tot lor relief		That the French eat every last scrap,

⁵⁷ A reference to the spontaneous combustion of the new fire supposed to happen in the Tomb of Christ before the Exultet and Vigil Mass of Easter in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, as Gaston Paris suggests, 'La Littérature normande avant l'Annexion', in *Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge*, ed. by Mario Roques (New York: Burt Franklin, 1966), pp. 98–102 (p. 101). On this, see Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 110.

Ce est aspoures grant meschief
Et si apellent de cest grief

[fol. 132^r, col. 2]

Li chien se plaignent dautre part
Que quant l'os de la table part
Tant lor uient megre et tant a tart
Que de tot le trouent bastart.

Ou li Franceis l'a tot mengie
Ou il l'avra si prees rungie
Que quant il li done congie
De neent a le chien paie

Diluec uient nient d'autre nature
Que il ont blanche endenteure
Que le rore de l'os lor cure⁵⁸
Les denz et blanchist et escuré

Quant li Franceis se fet seignier
Si fet atorner .i. mengier
Donc nus hom ne doit ia pleidier
Ne s'en sareit for els aidier

S'il ne la uet de lor doutrine
Vinee en gorge de geline
Si n'est pas deu tot orfeline
Quer sel i metent et ferine

Et porreiz et oignons et alz
Et de lorer feregranz salz
Et de l'escost estorcer chaux

...

Qui o les Franceis mengera
A quei que seit escotera
Quer ou as noiz enterciera⁵⁹
Ou des escaloignes fera.

[Franceis]⁶⁰ a tot le mains venir
Por sei richement contenir

Which does the poor no favours
320 And they cry out in their misery.

For their part the dogs whine
For when bones are thrown from the table
They come as little as they are late
A practice they find completely base.

325 Either the French have eaten every scrap
Or they have gnawed it away so close
That when they get up from the table
Nothing is chucked to the dog.

It is for that and no other reason
330 That the French have such white teeth;
As they make it their business to chew bones
Their teeth are scoured and whitened.

Whenever a Frenchman causes himself to be bled
He has a meal prepared
335 So no one ought to go to make a request of him then
For he will get no help beyond himself

If he does not see eating is their religion;
The Frenchman stuffs himself with marinated chicken
So long as it is not all unadorned
340 Because they put flour and salt on it

And pears, onions, and oils
And a fragrant sauce made with bay leaves
And he adds to it hot

...

345 A man who dines with the French
Should grab whatever he may
As either he will end up with nuts
Or will just carry off the shallots.

A Frenchman would need to own the world
350 To live as well as he would like.

⁵⁸ Lines 330–31 are transposed in the MS. Holden (*Roman*, p. 224n) suggests this order as the original arrangement.

⁵⁹ Corrected from *entenciera* in MS.

⁶⁰ *Lanee* MS.

[fol. 132^v, col. 1]

Quer icel ne puet auenir Que d'escot se sachent tenir		Because that is something that cannot happen The French know to hold what provisions they have.
Tant com en lor contrees seient Mes quant fors en sont mout gorgeient Et a autrui table richeent Et blasment quanque il i ueent	355	That's the way they are in their own land But when they're abroad they're even more greedy And shamefully gorge themselves at every table Whenever they get near one.
Et quant il ont en lors ostex Si conoisson Franceis a tex A tant merdes a tant aux Qu'en les devreit tuer opex	360	And whenever hosts have them in their homes They realize the French are such men So greedy and so avaricious That he ought to drive them off with kicks.
Andre sa chartre fine a tant A Paris lenvoie batant Qui la lira seit en estant Quer Franceis s'iront mout crescant		Andrew finishes here his letter He sends it straight to Paris. He who reads it should wait and see For the French will go round being fired up,
Sele est sus Petit Pont ⁶¹ retraite Ou de colee ou de retraite Ara celui la teste fraite Qui la lira sil ne [se] gaite.	365	If it is recited out on the Petit-Pont Whether by blow or by cuff The man will have his head broken Who reads it out, if he isn't careful.
Mout sera isnel de prinsaut Se en Siene ne fet .i. saut Andre prent congie Dex vos saut Mes sauez quen sa chartre faut.	370	For his presumption he will be very likely To get himself a soaking in the Seine. Andrew takes his leave. God save you all. But be aware that his letter is not complete.
...		...
E qu'il a oblie a dire Porce que il n'en veut mesdire Ne Franceis del tor desconfire	375	And what he has omitted to say Because he has no wish to thence slander anyone So much as to totally discredit the Frenchman.
Tirenlire ⁶² est pain en allie ⁶³ Et o la dousse ⁶⁴ d'al freie		This little ditty is therefore agony to him And shatters the spears of the Twelve Peers.

⁶¹ The bridge connecting the Île de la Cité to the Left Bank of the Seine at Paris.⁶² A word signifying a musical refrain, supposedly derived from the call of the lark.⁶³ In the context *a lui* may have been intended, which has been altered by the redactor to match the rhyme more closely.⁶⁴ An allusion to the heroic Twelve Peers of France (a list of whom is helpfully appended to the base of the folio, beneath these verses). This verse lacks a syllable, and the word 'lance' might have been omitted.

Ia Franceis ne sera hetie
Le ior qu'il n'en seit commencie.

Ce est vn legier companage
[fol. 132^v, col. 2]

Qui tot le cors lor asoage
Mes ia o Dieu n'eit heritage
Qui primes fist tel mariage

Andreu a sa chartre fince
Bien lont li Engleis graantee
Que rien nule n'i ont trouee
Qui ne seit verite provee

Bien l'ont graante li Flamenc
Et Bourgueignon et Loherenc
Que prendrei ge tot a renc.
Mes en verite uos aprenc

Que Engleis Breton Angeuin
Mansel Gascoign et Peiteuin
Tientent Andreu a bon devin
Quer partot dit ueir. Cest a fin.

Explicit Arflet

Indeed a Frenchman would have a fit
380 Any day someone strikes it up

Cheerful fellowship is

What brings comfort to everybody
But truly there is only reward with God
Who first made such a union.

385 Andrew has finished his letter
And the English have admitted the fact
That none of them have found anything in it
Other than the absolute truth.

The Flemings, Burgundians, and Lorrainers
390 Have admitted this freely
That I should take altogether.
But truly understand this

That the English, Bretons, Angevins,
Manceaux, Gascons, and Poitevins
395 Maintain that Andrew is a fine cleric
For he tells the absolute truth. That's the lot.

Here ends Arflet

Social and Legal History

BETWEEN PARADISE AND REVOLT: *LABORATOIRES* IN THE SOCIETY OF THE THREE ORDERS

Mathieu Arnoux

There is no doubt that during the last thirty years we have learnt much about the social and political organization of the French and Anglo-Norman territories. Important questions have been raised about the nature of feudalism on both sides of the Channel and about the relationship and similarities between the two monarchies.¹ Institutional studies have highlighted the ideological basis of royal authority, and the pioneering work of Marc Bloch, Ernst Kantorowicz, and Percy Ernst Schramm has described the different forms of justification issued by rulers and clerks. In this constantly changing landscape, the image of the Three Orders has been something of an exception and has received less examination. Frequently quoted and commented on, Georges Duby's great book *Les Trois Ordres* raised debate on two points: the actual existence of a 'Feudal Revolution' at the beginning of the eleventh century, and the origins and birth of an ideological formula: *laboratores, oratores, bellatores*.² Even the best books on French and Anglo-Norman history usually neglect the problem of the implementation of this

Thanks to David Crouch, Kathleen Thompson, and the anonymous reader, whose suggestions helped me much to improve this paper; remaining errors of any kind are obviously mine.

¹ David Bates, 'England and the "Feudal Revolution"', in *Il Feudalesimo nell'alto medioevo*, 8–12 April 1999, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 47, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2000), pp. 611–49; Pierre Bonnassie and Pierre Toubert, 'England around the Year 1000', in *Hommes et sociétés dans l'Europe de l'an mil*, ed. by Pierre Bonnassie and Pierre Toubert (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2004), pp. 101–12.

² Georges Duby, *Les Trois Ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978); *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

social classification of orders. This paper reappraises the evidence and reconsiders the problem of the development of the model of the Three Orders in Anglo-Norman and European social history. Readers are asked not to forget, however, that this is work in progress, intended to promote debate and open to correction.

From Dumézil to Duby

Although it was taken for granted for a great part of the European society from the Middle Ages until the end of the 'Ancien Régime' that each man should belong to one of the three 'états' — that is, the nobility, the clergy, or the third, or common, group — the problem of the origin, birth, and enforcement of such an idea was of little interest to historians until the 1960s.

In investigating this theme, first in his great book of 1964 and then in a paper in 1968, reprinted in 1977, Jacques Le Goff considered the anthropological point of view.³ Its origins lay in the idea expressed by Georges Dumézil that Indo-European religious, juridical, and political thought was characterized by a trifunctional organization, where the first function was related to religious and magic sovereignty, the second to warfare, and the third to fertility and economic activities. The relationship between this scheme and the three parts of European society in the later Middle Ages and early modern times had been explored by Dumézil himself and then by Jean Batany, in a short article published in 1963 in *Annales*.⁴ Both writers favoured the continuity of the Indo-European structure, especially into Anglo-Saxon society, where at the end of the ninth century the idea of the Three Orders was expressed for the first time by King Alfred the Great, in his Anglo-Saxon translation of and commentary on Boethius's *De consolazione*. Jacques Le Goff took a historical perspective on the religious and social representation of the orders and pointed out that, since the earliest evidence of the idea was to be found in the tenth century, the theory of Indo-European continuity had to explain the disappearance of the model at the beginning of the Middle Ages or its rebirth around the year 1000.

³ Jacques Le Goff, *La Civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Arthaud, 1964), pp. 319–28 (*Medieval Civilization 400–1500*, trans. by Julia Barrow (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), pp. 255–64); Jacques Le Goff, 'Note sur société tripartite, idéologie monarchique et renouvellement économique dans la chrétienté du IX^e au XII^e siècle', in *Pour un autre Moyen Âge: temps, travail et culture en Occident: 18 essais* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), pp. 80–90.

⁴ G. Dumézil, 'Métiers et classes fonctionnelles chez divers peuples indo-européens', *Annales ESC*, 13 (1958), 716–24; Jean Batany, 'Des "trois fonctions" aux trois "états"?', *Annales ESC*, 18 (1963), 933–38.

After Georges Duby's election to the Collège de France in 1970, he decided to devote his seminar to this problem. The book he published in 1978, which undoubtedly remains one of his major works, presented the results of a collective investigation, in which Jacques Le Goff had been involved, as were many other French and European medievalists. It presented all the pieces of the dossier for the tenth to twelfth centuries and outlined the chronology of the idea of the Three Orders in society. Two crucial moments were identified: the first expression of the theme in the beginning of the late tenth century, and its enforcement as the official expression of the monarchic ideology of the Plantagenet and Capetian kings in the second half of the twelfth century.

The book is an important piece in Duby's reconstruction of the feudal moment, because it was the first expression of feudalism as the result of a social and ideological mutation of post-Carolingian society. The birth of a new model of social organization, which broke with the stratification of the early Middle Ages, was a major element of the evolution. Eventually, studies in marriage and family patterns of the feudal group in the eleventh and twelfth centuries made it possible to have an all-encompassing view of feudal society.⁵ The weakening of public authority at the end of the tenth century and the associated outburst of violence from the *milites* formed the background to a general debate on social organization and evolution, where the Three Orders scheme had to compete with other propositions on social and religious organization: heretical ideas, the Peace of God, and the social proposal of the Cluniac monks. Then both the idea and the social debate that prompted it disappeared for almost a century, perhaps because of a preoccupation with ecclesiastical reform, until its second birth in the middle of the twelfth century.

Duby's book was written in the context of a broad inquiry about feudal society, which may account for some of its more controversial points. For example it focused mainly on the French and Anglo-Norman lands, and nothing was said about how the theory of Three Orders was received outside France and England, either in the Empire or in Italy and the Mediterranean regions. Another curious factor is Duby's presentation of the occurrences of the idea in Adalbero of Laon and Gerard of Cambrai's texts in the 1020s as the most significant pieces of evidence, despite the fact that Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham and Archbishop Wulfstan of York had made earlier and equally convincing expressions of the idea in the years around 1000.⁶

⁵ Georges Duby, *Le Chevalier, la femme et le prêtre: le mariage dans la France féodale* (Paris: Hachette, 1981), translated by Barbara Bray as *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (New York: Pantheon, 1983).

⁶ The question was raised by both Pierre Bonnassie, 'Idéologie tripartite et révolution féodale', *Le Moyen Âge*, 86 (1980), 251–73, and Bates, 'England and the "Feudal Revolution"', p. 675.

Powell vs Duby

The book was well received, but few further publications on its topic followed.⁷ Dominique Iogna-Prat investigated the theological background to the evidence from the tenth and eleventh centuries, looking especially at the masters of the Auxerre schools, Heiric and Remigius, who expressed ideas about the social organization of Christendom which might, in some ways, explain the later theories.⁸ A major contribution to the topic was the influential article published in 1994 by Timothy Powell in *Anglo-Saxon England*.⁹ It provided a clear and exhaustive *status quaestionis* after Duby's book and a precise commentary on Alfred's, Ælfric's, and Wulfstan's important texts. Like Le Goff and Duby before him, Powell rejected the hypothesis of the continuity of an Indo-European trifunctional pattern from pre-Christian times into the eleventh century and presented the theory of the Three Orders as a historical construction, an intellectual reaction in a period of social crisis. The problem of violence and social cohesion was central to his most significant piece of evidence, Ælfric's letter of canonical consultation to Wulfstan, as it would be twenty years later in the French texts.¹⁰ But in the English case, it did not refer to the misdeeds of the *milites* but to an older European problem, the military competencies of the bishops. The presentation of the Three Orders, *laboratores, bellatores, oratores*, as the providential framework, where there is a place for everyone, was a preliminary to an examination of the specific case of the bishops. As the chiefs of the *spiritualis militia* ('spiritual struggle'), they had to fight with weapons specific to their *ordo*: 'lorica iustitiae, scutum fidei et galeam salutis, et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum

⁷ Otto G. Oexle, 'Die funktionale Dreiteilung der "Gesellschaft" bei Adalbero von Laon: Deutungsschemata der sozialen Wirklichkeit im früheren Mittelalter', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 12 (1978), 1–24; Jacques Le Goff, 'Les Trois Fonctions indo-européennes, l'historien et l'Europe féodale', *Annales ESC*, 34 (1979), 1187–1215.

⁸ Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Le "Baptême" du schéma des trois ordres fonctionnels: l'apport de l'école d'Auxerre dans la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle', *Annales ESC*, 41 (1986), 101–26.

⁹ Timothy E. Powell, 'The "Three Orders" of Society in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE*, 23 (1994), 103–32; cf. also Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 457–62, and about Wulfstan's political theory, Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-BUILDER', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 9–27 (pp. 18–19, 20).

¹⁰ *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1: 871–1204, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett, and Christopher N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), I, 252, n. 45.

Dei' (Ephesians 16. 14–17; 'the breastplate of justice, the shield of faith, helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God'). But were there any circumstances in which they could lay down the staff and use the sword in the battlefield? The rules of the *ordines* strictly prohibited such a transgression which, in the bishops' case, implied a move from the *militia Dei* to the *militia secularis*.

In late tenth-century England, such a proposal had not only theoretical but also practical implications in the struggles between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes. For Archbishop Wulfstan and his fellows, the bishops' role was to preach, convert, and baptize the pagans after the battle; they were not permitted to fight them on the battlefield. Timothy Powell's interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon evidence made the *ordo oratorum* the target of Ælfric and Wulfstan's theory, whereas Georges Duby had earlier detected that the *ordo bellatorum* was the critical point of the scheme for Adalbero and Gérard.¹¹ There is no contradiction between them on this point, and Archbishop Wulfstan, in his *Institutes of Polity*, presented the *ordines* as follows:

Every rightful throne that stands fully upright rests on three pillars: one is *oratores*, and another is *laboratores* and the third is *bellatores*. *Oratores* is clergy, who must serve God day and night, interceding zealously for all the people. *Laboratores* are working men (*weorcmen*) who must provide that by which all the people live. *Bellatores* are warriors, who must defend the land valiantly with weapons. On these three pillars, every throne shall stand upright in a Christian nation. And if any of them weakens, the throne will soon totter; and if any of them should break, then the throne will fall and that will damage the people.¹²

As Timothy Powell points out in the conclusion of his paper, 'the Three Orders had both to be seen as a model for stability and unity and yet broadly enough defined to enable those like Aelfric (and in *Francia* Adalbero and Gerard) to make their particular points'. So far we have considered how the model of the Three Orders was applied to the *oratores* and *bellatores*, let us now try to discover what kind of message was given to the *laboratores*, who were by far the large majority of the population. After all, the *ordo*, in which they gathered with no other consideration of social *status*, can be seen as the very novelty of the system.

¹¹ David Fraesdorff, 'Beten für die Gesellschaft: die "oratores": Theorie als Deutungsmodell der sozialen Wirklichkeit im Mittelalter', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 125 (2005), 3–38; in a recent article, Theo Riches has rightly suggested that the protection of the episcopal status and authority was a major issue of Bishop Gerard of Cambrai's speech: 'Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras, the Three Orders, and the Problem of Human Weakness', in *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. by John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 122–36.

¹² *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten / Swiss Studies in English, 47 (Bern: Francke, 1959), pp. 55–57, quoted by Powell, 'Three Orders of Society', p. 116.

Ordo laboratorum: *Emancipation and Order?*

Before any interpretation of the few bald words devoted to the *laboratores*, we have to be clear on the exact nature of the evidence. The description of the orders, especially in Anglo-Saxon sources, cannot be read as prescriptive: even in Ælfric's canonical consultation, the reference to the *ordines* is not a juridical statement nor a moral exhortation. This may explain why the simple word *laborator* can be applied to a group of men for whom, in England or on the Continent, there were many different names, which referred to their degree of freedom, the *status* of their tenure, or the nature of their economic functions. Ælfric and Wulfstan's aim lay beyond the intricate social and legal system of the end of the tenth century and was to restore the genuine condition of people, as Holy Providence had fixed it, as a means for human salvation. As expressed by key agents of ecclesiastical reform such as Ælfric, Wulfstan, Gerard, and Adalbero, these descriptions of Christian society had to be understood as propositions of reform with related action.

In Wulfstan's case, it is possible to link the theory of the orders, that is, the idea that the *laboratores* were one single group in the eye of God, with his decisive statement against slavery, which was still widespread in tenth-century England. A great part of his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* was devoted to a sharp condemnation of the slave trade, which sold many Christian English men, women, and children to Viking, Welsh, Irish, or other traders.¹³ In Ælfric's didactic works, there are frequent hints to the slaves (*theow* or *thraell*) who lived and worked on the domestic estates. Domesday Book's lists of dependent countrymen provide significant evidence of the diffusion of slavery in Anglo-Saxon society in the time of King Edward. By the end of the eleventh century, however, this population had vanished, as had the old Anglo-Saxon words referring to it.¹⁴ Although the process is particularly obvious

¹³ *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (London: Methuen, 1939); Wormald, *Making of the English Law*, p. 344. For a reference to slave trading in late eleventh-century Bristol, see William of Malmesbury, 'Vita Wulfstani', ii, c. 20, in William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. by Michael Winterbottom and Rodney M. Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 100–02. At the very same moment on the eastern border of Christendom, Bishop Adalbert of Prague took similar action among Czech people in favour of ecclesiastical reform and against the slave trade: *Vita Adalberti episcopi Pragensis auctore Johanne Canapario* (BHL 37), ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH Scriptores, 4, p. 581; available online at <<http://www.mgh.de/dmgh/>>.

¹⁴ H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 72–74, 86–87 and maps at pp. 76–77, 87; David A. E. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England, from the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 7 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), pp. 232–40; David Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Britain and Ireland*,

for England, it was a European one, whose importance cannot be underestimated. Even if very rare on the continent, slavery and the slave trade were still present as a danger in the beginning of the eleventh century.¹⁵ By the end of the century, they had disappeared forever, leaving behind them states of dependency or non-freedom, which were completely different from the old slavery. When important theologians such as Wulfstan or Ælfric expressed the idea that agricultural work was by itself fulfilment of providential design, their implication was clearly that such work had to be done voluntarily.

Even in those areas of Europe where slavery had long ago disappeared, the hypothesis of a single group of *laboratores*, alongside the group of *milites*, had strong social and juridical implications, because it rendered ineffective the old social stratification, in particular that between free and unfree men. In Carolingian times, freedom meant military service; in the new scheme of things, no peasant had to serve in the army, or to bear weapons, working in the field being his only duty. In other words, the *ordo laboratorum* was also the *ordo laicorum inermum*, to which a tripartite society granted full protection, as the *Pax Dei* was supposed to do in other parts of Europe. The actual history of European peasantry shows that the process of disarmament of the countrymen did not take place at the beginning of the eleventh century. My hypothesis is that the process of disarmament was achieved, not by general enslavement of the peasants, but through the enforcement of the society of Three Orders as an implicit way of ordering the French and English kingdoms. It was reached through negotiation between the orders and through granting to the *ordo laboratorum* symbolic gratifications and real economic guarantees (which I will not consider in this paper). The evidence for this evolution is sparse, but it does exist.

800–1200 (Leiden: Brill, 2008). For the practicalities, see Christopher Dyer, 'Bishop Wulfstan and his Estates', in *St. Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and Nicholas P. Brooks, Studies in Early Medieval Britain, 4 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 137–49 (pp. 144–46). It is absolutely essential to make the distinction between evidence for slavery and the slave trade and the issue of the origins of serfdom: Bates, 'England and the "Feudal Revolution"', pp. 635–36.

¹⁵ Cf. for example the Irish poet Moriucht, whose wife was captured by the Vikings, then sold in Rouen (Pelteret, *Slavery*, p. 76); when Ademar of Chabannes describes in his *Chronicle* the assault of Narbonne by *Mauri Cordubenses* and the Viking expedition against the shores of Aquitaine (c. 1000–19), slavery is clearly the fate promised to all *captivi*: *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, ed. by Pascale Bourgain, Corpus Christianorum, 129 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 171–72, chaps 52–53, bk III.

Labour and Original Sin: Augustine vs Augustine

The evidence on the social model of the Three Orders is often misread because of misunderstanding of the 'Augustinian' nature of the theory. Obviously, Saint Augustine is present in almost every theological dispute in the eleventh century, and the definition of the new social organization as an *ordo* is in some way an admission of the Augustinian identity of the theory. In the commonly understood Augustinian view of original sin, the *ordo laboratorum* expiates, by painful and weary work, the sin of our father Adam, as the Almighty had explained to him, after he had to leave Paradise.¹⁶ Such an interpretation is consonant with our modern representation of Augustine and with views of clerics and lords on the peasant group, but it makes it difficult to understand how the new organization was taught to the peasant group, who represented the larger part of Christendom. There was nothing that specifically explained why the *laboratores* were to bear all the burden of the sins of mankind. Pessimistic theological statements about the blind justice of Providence are not impossible to find, but they were difficult to use as the grounds for a theory of social cohesion. This ubiquitous cliché has remained until now a major obstacle to a correct understanding of the model of the Three Orders, but it is grounded in Augustine's later and pessimistic thought, which is one of the many possible representations of the African Father. In fact, there are in the works of Augustine other texts, well known to medieval theologians, which fit far better with the sources on the Three Orders. The most important is the chapter of the treatise *De Genesi ad litteram* which he devoted to comment on Genesis 2. 15: 'Et sumpsit Deus hominem quem fecit, et posuit eum in paradiso, ut operaretur et custodiret' ('The Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it').¹⁷

Today, this text is known almost exclusively by historians of medieval philosophy, who regard it as the major scholastic authority for the theory on man's cooperation in creation and salvation, but until the end of the Middle Ages, it was one of Augustine's best-known works. It survives in numerous manuscripts, and this very chapter was copied into almost every commentary on Genesis in the early Middle Ages; eventually, it took a place in the *glossa ordinaria* of the Bible, thus becoming

¹⁶ Cf. for a recent example Robert Fossier, *Le Travail au moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette-Littératures, 2000), p. 19: 'En revanche, il [le travail] est moralement abject. C'est une punition, celle que le créateur infligea au premier couple après la faute.'

¹⁷ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini de Genesi ad litteram duodecim libri*, ed. by Joseph Zycha, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, 28 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1894), VIII, 8–9, pp. 242–45.

the main authority for every comment on this part of the holy book, and a starting point for the preachers. Questioning the fact that Adam cultivated Paradise before he sinned and was expelled, Augustine wondered whether work might not have been intended as punishment for the sinner: 'An non est credibile quod eum ante peccatum damnaverit ad laborem?' ('Is it believable that he condemned man to hard labour before the Fall?'). The answer was positive, beyond any doubt. Work in the fields of fertile paradise was only pleasure, joy, and participation in the magnificent work of the Creator: 'non enim erat laboris afflictio, sed exhilaratio voluntatis' ('It was no chore, but a joy willingly accepted'). The idea that something of this exultation survived the Fall and the expulsion from Paradise is important for our topic, since it could prefigure, in those who loved their agricultural work or work among nature, Man's predestination to become again Creation's gardener: 'nisi videremus cum tanta voluptate animi agricolari quosdam, ut eis magna poena sit inde in aliud avocari' ('So we may suggest some people till the fields with great satisfaction to themselves, so that it might be regarded by them as a dreadful trial were they taken from it to do something else'). This theory of the nature of work is very different from the 'usual' Augustine, philosopher of the expiation of sin through the pain of work. If used in preaching to the peasants, it could have very important implications for the religious interpretation of the Three Orders. Indeed, if labourers were compared to men from before the Fall and if the *ordo laboratorum* was presented as the very witness to the experience of Paradise, rather than as those who had to expiate original sin, then it was not difficult to argue that the *ordo bellatorum* and the *ordo oratorum* had been instituted after the Fall (and Augustine in the same treatise provided abundant material for this idea). For example, he explained that war and the domination of the lord over his serf were unthinkable in Paradise, as too was the domination of the husband over his wife.¹⁸ The two orders of priests and of knights were firstly consequences of sin, then reaction to and perhaps remedy for it.

It would not be difficult to collect texts from French, German, English, or Italian literature where the *laboureur* was described as a perfectly good and just man, an unquestionable exemplum of the true right life in the face of the Almighty. Piers Ploughman and another ploughman, the brother of the good priest, in the *Canterbury Tales*, or the wise father of the young Helmbrecht, and the Ackerman from Bohemia all demonstrate the same model of innate faith and charity, which was so deeply rooted in medieval peasant ideology.¹⁹ When Renart the fox decided

¹⁸ *Sancti Aureli Augustini de Genesi ad litteram*, ed. by Zycha, XI, 37, pp. 371–72.

¹⁹ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, First fragment, vv. 529–32; Wernher der Gartenaere, *Helmbrecht*, vv. 242–58; cf. Clair Hayden Bell, *Peasant Life in Old German Epics* (New

to convert and become a good Christian, in the last and satirical version of his deeds, in the French kingdom of the early fourteenth century, he decided to become a ploughman:

Un aultre mestier veult aquerre,
 C'est ester laboureur de terre;
 C'est celui qu'on doit mieulx prisier,
 Chier tenir et moins desprisier,
 [...]
 A cel labour Adam tendi
 Quant de paradis descendi;
 Au labourer toudis se tient,
 Ce est dont sa vie maintint.
 Dieu a labourer l'envoya
 Sa vie ainsi lui ottroya.²⁰

[Another job he wants to get
 That is to be a ploughman.
 That is one have highly to appraise
 To love so much and not despise.
 [...]
 To ploughing Adam applied
 When he went out of Paradise:
 Everyday, he kept on ploughing
 And his life so earned.
 God to plough sent him
 So granted him his life.]

Obviously, Renard failed in this attempt at redemption: work and the honest life gained him nothing but pain and poverty. This is a common theme in the social literature of the fourteenth century, which describes either with satirical, pathetic, or rebellious words the injuries inflicted on the peaceful and defenceless group of labourers. Its most famous slogan was that of the leader of the 1381 revolt, John Ball: 'Whan Adam dalf, and Eve span, | Wo was thane a gentelman?'.²¹ This was indeed, a very concise and efficient comment on Augustine's treatise on Genesis.

York: Columbia University Press, 1931), pp. 43–44; Johannes von Tepl, *Der Ackermann*, ed. and trans. by Christian Kiening (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 2000).

²⁰ *Le Roman de Renart le contrefait*, ed. by Gaston Raynaud and Henri Lemaître, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1914), II, 47, vv. 26981–27029.

²¹ *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. by James M. Dean, Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), p. 140.

Conflict and Rebellion

Even if the peasantry as a group was unarmed (*inermes*) and its ideology seemingly peaceful, removing it from all conflict, the social form of the *ordo laboratorum* must not be seen as generally accepted in all European societies. The Roman church never accepted the theory of the Three Orders, which presented the clergy as one among other orders of society, granting them neither priority nor special dignity. Perhaps Gregorian hostility to it was the main reason for the disappearance of the theory of the orders during the period of the Investiture struggle. Even at the end of the twelfth century the debate was not extinguished. In his most famous work (now preserved in more than six hundred manuscripts), the *De miseria conditionis humane*, Cardinal Lothar of Segni, who would later be Pope Innocent III, described incessant work among mortals as a mere vanity. It was an insane attempt to escape the vision of the wretched human condition, as was economic growth, of which Lothar gave the most impressive and convincing description:

Mortals rush and run about through fences and paths, climb mountains, cross hills, ascend cliffs, fly over the Alps, step over pits, go into caves; they explore the inner parts of the earth, the depths of the sea, the uncertainties of the water, the shadows of the forest, the inward way of solitude; they expose themselves to winds, to rains, to thunders and lightnings, to floods and storms, to disasters and dangers. They hammer and melt metals, cut and polish stones, cut down and chop wood, spin and weave fabrics, cut and stitch clothes, build houses, plant gardens, cultivate fields, grow vines, fire ovens, erect mills, fish, hunt, and catch birds. They meditate and cogitate, consult and arrange, complain and dispute, rob and steal, cheat and trade, contend and fight, and do countless things of such sort in order to accumulate riches, to multiply profits, to pursue wealth, to acquire honors, to raise their ranks, to extend their powers. And this also is labor and vexation of mind.²²

Disagreement was not confined to the members of the *ordo oratorum*. The fear of revolt, particularly from the peasants, lies behind much evidence about the theory of the Three Orders. One particularly striking example is the narrative by John of Worcester concerning the threefold nightmare of King Henry I of England, who was threatened by a crowd of peasants 'standing by him with agricultural implements', then by 'a large band of knights, wearing armour, bearing helmets on their heads, each of them holding lances, a sword, spears and arrows', and finally by 'archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans and priors, holding their pastoral staffs'.²³

²² Lothar of Segni [Pope Innocent III], *De miseria conditionis humane*, ed. and trans. by Robert E. Lewis, Chaucer Library (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), pp. 111–12.

²³ JW, III, 198–203.

Indeed the most famous and complete description of the Three Orders, that which appears in the Norman chronicle of Benoît of Saint-Maure, is also linked to a narrative of revolt. King Henry II Plantagenet commissioned Benoît, a poet from his native Anjou, after he had dismissed the Norman canon Wace, author of the unfinished *Roman de Rou*. It is particularly significant that the model of the Three Orders is introduced at the point when the narrative describes discussion around 940 between Duke William Longsword and Abbot Martin of Jumièges.²⁴ It was a modification which upset a long historical tradition that went back to the time of Dudo of Saint-Quentin (around 1000).

The discussion centred on the person of the Duke. William, Christian-born, son of the converted Rollo, had invited the Cluniac monks of Saint-Cyprien in Poitiers to restore the ancient community of Jumièges and asked Abbot Martin whether he could resign his ducal dignity and enter the monastic community as a monk. His crucial question was about the opportunities available to the laity and the clergy for obtaining salvation. The Three Orders of the Christian religion were the key to the problem:

Why are there three orders of Christian in the church? Will there not be one mercy and one reward, for those who perform separate offices in the Christian religion?

Martin's answer is a classic of the post-Carolingian theology of the orders:

Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour. [...] The totality of the Christian religion consists of three distinct orders. It is practised by the generous labour of laymen, canons and monks, and follows the trinity of persons and the one God in substance, according to the articles of belief. Their service, successfully accomplished, leads by regular steps to heaven, and while there are three orders in the conduct of the worship of the true Faith, the way divides into a 'double route' according the hope of certain believers. Of which one is called PRAKTIKES, and it goes more gently, and has earned the name of 'canonica', and under its jurisdiction, the secular order lives and abides. But the other, called THEORIKES is hedged in on all sides by strict limitations and does not go along level ground, but is committed to retirement and rejoices in perpetual seclusion and always strives towards the high places.²⁵

²⁴ Stephen de Fougères, a royal chaplain (c. 1160 x66), provides an earlier and explicit allusion to the use of the Three Orders model in the same court circle (I owe to David Crouch this reference and its translation): 'We ought to cherish our tenants, | for the peasant carries the burden | of maintaining us all our lives | knights, clerks, and lords. | Peasants, yes! But they are Christian folk, | not pagans or Saracens. | We should not pillage them | nor ought we to put them in chains. | Knighthood was once a high order, | but it is now no more than debauchery' (*Le Livre des Manières*, ed. by R. Anthony Lodge (Geneva: Droz, 1979), lines 577–86, p. 81).

²⁵ Dudo of St-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. with introd. and notes by Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 77–78.

Thus there are three orders, one for laymen and the other two for clerics — secular (canons) and regular (monks) — but two distinct ways, one ‘gentle’ for the secular people, and the other, sheer and precipitous, for the happy few. As the head of the lay order, the Duke had to remain in his own place and fulfil his responsibilities to organize his succession and strengthen his legitimacy.

The dialogue remained unchanged in its meaning in the Latin version of the chronicle written by William of Jumièges in the middle of the eleventh century, then in the French version, the *Roman de Rou*, which Wace undertook in 1160 and left unfinished.²⁶ Around 1170 Wace was dismissed by the King for unknown reasons, and the Angevin poet, Benoît of Saint-Maure, began the redaction of a new French versified chronicle, where the topic of the discussion between William and Martin changed completely.²⁷ Duke William’s project of monastic life and his question about the rewards promised to each order were still present, and the second part of Martin’s answer, with the description of the two ways towards heaven, canonical/monastic, were a mere copy of Wace’s text. This was not the case for the presentation of the orders. The Three Orders of society, ‘Chevaliers, clerics et villains’, were presented twice, first by William, then by Martin, in a clear view of political philosophy, exactly as Wulfstan had described them in the *Institutes of Polity* more than a century and a half before.

The other famous part of the *Chronicle*, where Wace’s narrative was amplified, was devoted to the great revolt of the Norman peasants at the end of the tenth century.²⁸ The short and rather enigmatic description of the revolt written by William of Jumièges in the middle of the eleventh century was interpreted by Wace and Benoît as a great confrontation between the *laboratores* and the *milites*. Wace’s version of the peasants’ slogans was strangely empathetic:

Son of a whore, said some, why do we put up with all the harm which is being done to us?
Let us free ourselves from their control. We are men as they are; we have the same limbs
as they do, we are their equal physically and are able to endure as much as they can. The
only thing we lack is courage. Let us unite on oath, defend our goods and ourselves and
stick together. If they wish to wage war on us, against one knight, we have thirty or forty

²⁶ Laurence Mathey-Maille, *Écritures du passé: histoires des ducs de Normandie*, Essais sur le moyen âge, 35 (Paris: Champion, 2007), p. 33.

²⁷ Benoît de Saint-Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Carin Fahlin, 3 vols (Uppsala: Universitas Upsaliensis, 1951–67), I, 383–92, vv. 13229–548.

²⁸ Mathieu Arnoux, ‘Classe agricole, pouvoir seigneurial et autorité ducal: l’évolution de la Normandie féodale d’après le témoignage des chroniqueurs’, *Le Moyen Âge*, 98 (1992), 35–60.

peasants, skilful and valiant. Thirty men in the flower of their youth will be cowardly and shameful if they cannot defend themselves against one man.²⁹

They received no answer from the *milites* other than violence and slaughter. In Benoît's version, the rebellion was presented as a transgression of the order of society, especially when the peasants attempt to eat fish and game, to keep for themselves the fruit of their labour, and to resist their lords' looting.³⁰ The answer to the peasants, a horrible outburst of violence, probably conformed better to the ideas of the king and courtiers than the presentation by Duke William and Abbot Martin of the dignity and duties of the *laboreors*. One point remains enigmatic, however: there is no known rebellion by Norman or English peasants till the fourteenth century. Instead of a celebration of the glorious victory of the *milites*, Benoît's text can be read as an exorcism of their fear of a peasant revolt.

Thirty years after the publication of Georges Duby's great book, the history of the 'Three Orders' has retained a great part of its fascination, and much remains to be studied. Although generally analysed from what might be described as a genealogical point of view, that is, looking back towards the origins of the scheme, the threefold representation of Christendom must also be examined from a functionalist viewpoint, as an attempt to negotiate an ordered and peaceful society. As Duby and others have shown, it addressed not only the violence of the *milites* and the laicizing temptations of the *oratores*, but also the rebellious character of the *laboratores*. Literary and religious sources have preserved some elements of the intellectual construction of the three orders. They were also economically efficient, with redistributive institutions, which gave a material form to the necessary cooperation between all Christian people.³¹ But this is a part of the story where work remains to be done.

²⁹ Wace, vv. 864–82, pp. 124–27.

³⁰ Benoît de Saint-Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, II, 197–203, vv 28854–29052.

³¹ Mathieu Arnoux, 'Travail, redistribution et construction des espaces économiques (XI^e–XV^e siècles)', *Revue de synthèse*, 2 (2006), 273–98.

DE L'USAGE DES SOUSCRIPTIONS ET DE L'UTILITÉ DE LEUR ÉTUDE: REMARQUES SUR L'ARISTOCRATIE NORMANDE DANS LA PREMIÈRE MOITIÉ DU XI^E SIÈCLE. L'EXEMPLE D'ONFROY (DIT 'DE VIEILLES')

Véronique Gazeau

Sans reprendre ici, dans une perspective historiographique complète, la question des débuts de l'aristocratie normande, nous voudrions rouvrir, à nouveaux frais, quelques éléments du dossier d'Onfroy de Vieilles.¹ Celui-ci est considéré par les historiens comme l'ancêtre des Beaumont-Meulan-Leicester. Orderic rapporte qu'il était le fils de *Turolfus*, tandis que pour Robert de Torigny il est le fils de *Turulfus* de Pont-Audemer et sa mère une sœur de la duchesse Gunnor.² Avant la conquête de l'Angleterre, la famille de Beaumont s'est opposée à la famille de Tosny.³ La carrière d'Onfroy a déjà fait l'objet d'études partielles, par

¹ Rappelons quelques travaux: Lucien Musset, 'L'Aristocratie normande au XI^e siècle', dans *La Noblesse au Moyen Âge XI^e-XV^e siècles: essais à la mémoire de Robert Boutruche*, dir. par Philippe Contamine (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976), pp. 71-96; David Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (Londres: Longman, 1982), pp. 99-121; Pierre Bauduin, 'À propos d'un acte inédit du fonds de Saint-Ouen de Rouen: aperçu sur les débuts de la féodalité normande', dans *La Normandie vers l'an mil: études et documents*, présentés par Mathieu Arnoux et autres (Rouen: Société de l'histoire de Normandie, 2000), pp. 93-104; David Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty* (Londres: Hambledon, 2002), pp. 35-62; Pierre Bauduin, *La Première Normandie (X^e-XI^e siècles): sur les frontières de la haute Normandie. Identité et construction d'une principauté* (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2004).

² *OV*, II, 12; *GND*, II, 268.

³ *OV*, II, 40; *GND*, II, 96. Lucien Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du X^e au XIII^e siècle', *Francia*, 5 (1977), 45-80 (p. 55 et n. 48).

plusieurs historiens anglais et français de la Normandie ducale.⁴ Il me semble que personne ne s'est encore penché sur l'étude des souscriptions de ce grand personnage de l'aristocratie normande de la première moitié du XI^e siècle, à la lumière des leçons de notre maître et ami David Bates.⁵

Onfroy de Vieilles entre dans l'histoire dans les années 1015–25, mais c'est la restauration de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Préaux au diocèse de Lisieux en 1034 qui autorise l'historien à voir en lui un grand de l'aristocratie.⁶ L'étendue des biens remis à la maison bénédictine et la fondation, quelques années plus tard, par son épouse Aubrée, de l'abbaye féminine de Notre-Dame et Saint-Léger de Préaux, montrent que la famille d'Onfroy règne sans partage dans la basse vallée de la Risle, autour de Pont-Audemer et de Tourville. Les origines des ancêtres restent floues en raison des diverses appellations fournies par Orderic Vital et Robert de Torigny. Liesbeth van Houts a démêlé ces questions, mais la généalogie d'Onfroy demeure incertaine.⁷ En tout état de cause, si Turoulf, ou Turould, a épousé Duveline, une sœur de la duchesse Gunnor, et si Onfroy de Vieilles est leur fils, cette parenté suffit à classer ce dernier au sommet de l'aristocratie normande au début du XI^e siècle. Mais que savons-nous encore de ce personnage avant la restauration de Saint-Pierre de Préaux?

La production documentaire qui permet de traiter des débuts de la carrière d'Onfroy est relativement abondante même si elle ne se laisse pas décrypter toujours facilement. En réalité, avant 1034, la connaissance qu'on peut avoir d'Onfroy repose sur un grand nombre de souscriptions toutes apposées au bas de diplômes ducaux qu'il convient d'examiner attentivement. On observe en premier lieu que dans trois chartes délivrées par Richard II à Saint-Père de Chartres, on trouve la

⁴ Véronique Gazeau, 'Monachisme et aristocratie au XI^e siècle: l'exemple de la famille de Beaumont' (thèse dactylographiée de troisième cycle, Université de Caen, 1986–87); David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); *Le Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Préaux (1034–1227)*, éd. by Dominique Rouet, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 34 (Paris: CTHS, 2005).

⁵ L'énumération partielle de ces souscriptions se trouve dans *Le Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Préaux*, éd. by Rouet, p. xx, n. 30.

⁶ Vieilles, dép. Eure, cant. et c. Beaumont-le-Roger. *RADN*, no. 29.

⁷ Elisabeth van Houts, 'Robert of Torigny as Genealogist', dans *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, dir. par Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth, et Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 215–33 (pp. 224–25 et nn. 33 et 37). David Crouch propose une autre interprétation de la génération d'Onfroy (Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, p. 16) fondée sur les chartes de l'abbaye de Préaux (Le cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Préaux, nos A1 (10), A74, A1 (17), et A99). Dominique Rouet date la mort d'Onfroy entre 1045 et 1047 (*Le Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Préaux*, pp. xix et xx, n. 30).

souscription d'un personnage appelé Onfroy ou Onfroy de Vieilles. La première souscription, *Signum Unfridi*, figure en fin de liste dans un acte daté de 1015–25, connu par une copie du début du XII^e siècle dans le cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres. Cet acte porte une donation de l'église de Breteuil par Richard II à Saint-Père.⁸ La seconde, *Signum Hunfridi*, se trouve toujours en dernière position dans un acte conservé en original, octroyé entre 1021 et 1025, et qui comporte aussi d'importantes concessions ducales à l'abbaye chartraine.⁹ La troisième, *Signum Hunfridi de Vetulabus*, encore placée en fin de liste, est apposée à un acte daté par Marie Fauroux de 1017–26 et plutôt de 1023–26; cet acte est connu par la copie qui se trouve dans le cartulaire du XII^e siècle de l'abbaye chartraine.¹⁰ Richard II y concède, à la requête de son fidèle Rainier, qui souscrit la charte avec Onfroy, une église sise à Gadencourt dans le comté d'Évreux. Plusieurs observations s'imposent à la lecture de ces trois diplômes. Tous émanent du même duc, Richard II, et sont délivrés à la même abbaye, Saint-Père de Chartres, dans une période assez courte d'à peu près dix années. En outre, ils sont souscrits par un même petit groupe de personnages, plusieurs d'entre eux se retrouvant dans deux, voire dans les trois actes.¹¹ Benjamin Guérard, l'éditeur des actes de Saint-Père de Chartres, mentionne que le copiste du XII^e siècle a ajouté 'de Vetulabus' (de Vieilles) après le *Signum Unfridi* du premier acte.¹² On est en droit de se demander si le *de Vetulabus* du troisième acte n'est pas également un ajout du copiste, d'autant plus que Vieilles, qui n'est qu'une partie du fief de Beaumont, entre dans le patrimoine d'Onfroy au plus tôt après le 17 mai 1027.¹³ Le deuxième acte, seul à être conservé

⁸ RADN, no. 29. Breteuil, dép. Eure, cant. Nonancourt, c. Saint-Georges-Motel.

⁹ RADN, no. 32.

¹⁰ RADN, no. 50. Le *terminus ad quem* de cet acte doit être revu, car l'abbé Thierry meurt le 17 mai 1027 (Véronique Gazeau, *Normannia monastica* (X^e–XII^e siècle), 2 vols (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2007), II: *Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins*, p. 147, n. 28).

¹¹ Richard II: RADN, nos 29, 32 et 50; Gonnor: nos 29 et 32; Robert archevêque: nos 29, 32 et 50; Richard, fils du comte Richard: nos 29 et 32; Robert, fils du comte Richard: nos 29 et 32; Herbert évêque: nos 32 et 50; Thierry abbé: nos 32 et 50; Robert clerc: nos 32 et 50; Onfroy: nos 29, 32 et 50; Guillaume, fils du comte, apparaît seulement dans l'acte no. 32.

¹² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, éd. by Benjamin Guérard, 2 vols, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 1 (Paris: Crapelet, 1840), I, 93. Cela est repris par Marie Fauroux, RADN, p. 117 (variantes de l'acte no. 29).

¹³ Si l'on considère que c'est Raoul qui a donné à Onfroy Beaumont, Beaumontel et Vieilles, possessions de l'abbaye de Bernay dont il est le *custos* (Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. I: *Princes normands et abbés bénédictins*, p. 175, n. 49). Onfroy porte le nom de Beaumont dans le cartulaire

en original, ne comporte pas d'indication autre que le nom d'Onfroy. Comment dès lors être certain d'une part que cet Onfroy est le même homme dans les trois cas, d'autre part qu'il s'agit effectivement d'Onfroy de Vieilles? La présence simultanée des mêmes souscripteurs, le même auteur des actes et le même destinataire, dans une courte période, administreraient la preuve qu'*Unfridus* (acte 29) et *Hunfriedus* (acte 32) sont un seul et même personnage, identique au, troisième *Hunfridus de Vetulabus*, c'est-à-dire Onfroy de Vieilles. Si cette dernière appellation n'est pas un ajout du copiste, c'est d'une part la seule fois qu'Onfroy de son vivant est appelé ainsi, et d'autre part ce serait la preuve que les trois Onfroy doivent être Onfroy de Vieilles.¹⁴

L'enquête doit être approfondie. Onfroy est le seul laïque parmi les signataires des trois actes, en dehors de Rainier et des membres de la famille ducale. L'investigation menée dans le cartulaire de Saint-Père montre qu'aucun Onfroy ne dispose de biens dans le Chartrain dans la première moitié du XI^e siècle; dans l'hypothèse de telles possessions, les intérêts dans cette région ayant pu expliquer la présence de l'aristocrate dans des chartes expédiées à l'établissement bénédictin. Par ailleurs, l'abbaye ne détient rien encore dans la vallée de la Risle.¹⁵ La concession de Richard II des années 1021–25 porte en partie sur huit traits de pêche des sennes dans la Seine pendant quinze jours aux Damps, à Elbeuf et à *Fossam Herluini*, un toponyme non identifié.¹⁶ Entre 1037 et 1055, Mauger, archevêque de Rouen, accédant à la demande de l'abbé Landry de Saint-Père, abandonne le tonlieu prélevé par ses agents à Andely sur les produits de Saint-Père de Chartres amenés à Rouen par la Seine.¹⁷ Cette date certes tardive par rapport aux trois actes examinés ci-dessus n'interdit pas de considérer que Saint-Père disposait déjà d'intérêts économiques dans la portion normande de la Seine, comme le suggère Pierre Bauduin.¹⁸ Un examen encore affiné de la géographie des possessions normandes des établissements religieux

de Saint-Pierre de Préaux (*Le Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Préaux*, éd. by Rouet, nos A7 et A11). En revanche, dans plusieurs actes de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle, les fils d'Onfroy sont parfois appelés *fili Hunfridi de Vetulis* (*Le Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Préaux*, éd. by Rouet, no. B25).

¹⁴ Dans aucun des actes des ducs de Normandie dans lesquels figure le personnage, on ne trouve mention de Vieilles (*RADN*, nos 55 (?), 88, 89, 128, 129, 174).

¹⁵ Guillaume le Bâtard lui remet entre 1040 et 1050 un moulin avec le droit de pêcher dans la Risle, mais il s'agit de la portion de cette rivière située près de la source (*RADN*, no. 117).

¹⁶ *RADN*, no. 32. Les Damps, dép. Eure, cant. Pont-de l'Arche. Elbeuf, dép. Seine-Maritime, ch.-l. cant.

¹⁷ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, éd. par Guérard, I, 176.

¹⁸ Bauduin, *La Première Normandie*, p. 250.

chartrains indique que le 21 septembre 1014 Richard II a conféré à la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Chartres l'église de Hauville qui n'est éloignée de La Haye-Aubrée, centre probable de la dot d'Aubrée l'épouse d'Onfroy de Vieilles, que de six kilomètres.¹⁹ Or, il est certain qu'Onfroy a toujours cherché à se positionner dans la vallée de la Seine, ce que montrent plusieurs passages de la pancarte de Saint-Léger de Préaux.²⁰ Les intérêts des familles d'Onfroy et d'Aubrée s'interpénètrent avec ceux des établissements chartrains, ce qui pourrait expliquer sa présence dans des actes relatifs à des affaires chartraines; par ailleurs, à la lumière de ces observations, on comprend peut-être mieux pourquoi Onfroy a placé Saint-Pierre de Préaux, en 1034, dans la mouvance de Saint-Wandrille dont la communauté suivait les coutumes liturgiques de Saint-Père, le premier supérieur et le premier abbé étant même tirés de la communauté fontenellienne.²¹ Cette hypothèse donnerait corps à une seconde hypothèse selon laquelle on verrait Onfroy de Vieilles dans l'*Hum[fr]edus* qui atteste une charte originale, souscrite par Richard II et Richard III en faveur de Saint-Wandrille.²² Ce serait le même cas avec cette souscription d'un *Hunfredus* pour une notice de Saint-Wandrille.²³ Et si notre homme n'est jamais affublé du nom de lieu Vieilles dans les actes qu'il souscrit, cela autorise à considérer *vetuli* l'adjectif qui suit un certain *Unfredi*, comme un ajout postérieur dans l'acte de donation de Robert le Magnifique de 1031 ou 1032–35 pour Fécamp.²⁴

¹⁹ Hauville, dép. Eure, cant. Routot. *RADN*, no. 15. La Haye-Aubrée, dép. Eure, cant. Routot. Aubrée détient des biens entre Risle et Seine à Billefont (dép. Eure, cant. Routot, c. La Haye-Aubrée), à Eturqueraye (dép. Eure, cant. Routot) et à Brestot (dép. Eure, cant. Montfort-sur-Risle) qui sont utilisés pour la fondation de Saint-Léger de Préaux (Bates, *Regesta*, no. 217). Malgré les problèmes de la datation de l'acte (*RADN*, p. 94), il est vraisemblable que Hauville ait été effectivement concédé à Saint-Père de Chartres.

²⁰ Bates, *Regesta*, no. 217. Véronique Gazeau, 'Le Domaine continental de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame et Saint-Léger de Préaux au XI^e siècle', *Cahier des Annales de Normandie*, no. 22 (1988), 165–83 (pp. 172–73). Il détient Bouafles (dép. Eure, cant. Les Andelys) et Pressagny-l'Orgueilleux (dép. Eure, cant. Écots).

²¹ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, I, 215–16, pour Saint-Père; Évrard n'est qu'*œconomus* entre 1034 et 1040; Anfroï est le premier abbé (1040–78): Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, II, 229–32.

²² *RADN*, no. 55.

²³ *RADN*, no. 95.

²⁴ *RADN*, no. 85. Voir le commentaire de Marie Fauroux sur les souscriptions, p. 224. Le scribe a-t-il voulu écrire un mot qui ressemble à *Vetulis* ou *Vetulabus*? Ou bien *Vetuli* (génitif de *vetulus*) ici pourrait être un adjectif et non l'indication d'un nom de lieu. Toutefois, même si on ignore la date de naissance d'Onfroy, il ne doit pas encore être 'un peu vieux'. Cet adjectif est accolé à Néel I^{er} le vicomte dans un acte de Saint-Pierre de Préaux en 1035 (*RADN*, no. 90).

Aux côtés d'Onfroy se trouve l'abbé Thierry dont on comprend parfaitement qu'il soit intéressé par les tractations qui se déroulent autour de Saint-Père de Chartres. On peut en effet penser qu'il agit en qualité d'abbé de Jumièges dans l'acte par lequel Richard II remet les huit traits de pêche dans la Seine.²⁵ Jumièges détient, depuis les restitutions de Guillaume Longue-Épée connues par la confirmation de Richard II d'août 1025, des terres et des droits de passage, de tonlieu, qui se situent précisément dans la vallée de la Seine, échelonnées entre Duclair et Quillebeuf; dans le même acte d'août 1025, Richard II concède à l'abbaye de Jumièges Trouville(-la-Haule) et Saint-Opportune-la-Mare situées à une douzaine de kilomètres à l'ouest de La Haye-Aubrée.²⁶

Il n'est toutefois pas question de considérer Onfroy comme un sénéchal du palais ducal de Robert le Magnifique, comme l'avait suggéré David Bates en 1982 arguant de la formule *Ansfredus dapifer* dans un acte du 13 avril 1033.²⁷ Il existe dans les diplômes ducaux un autre exemple de la confusion entre *Ansfredus* et *Hunfridus*, due à l'erreur du copiste.²⁸ S'il s'agit d'une erreur du copiste, pourquoi ce sénéchal, nommé Onfroy, ne serait-il pas le sénéchal d'un des nombreux personnages présents dans l'acte? S'il était le sénéchal du duc, pourquoi sa souscription ne se trouve-t-elle pas à côté de celle d'Osbern le sénéchal, bien présente dans l'acte? Dans la chartre donnée à Fécamp en 1031 ou 1032–35 par Robert le Magnifique, et même si ses souscriptions ont été recopiées dans une fausse chartre de Guillaume le Conquérant, figure la souscription d'Osbern, sénéchal du duc, précédant cette fois celle d'Onfroy, *Unfredi vetuli*, qui n'est pas qualifié de *dapifer*.²⁹ Marie Fauroux et Jean Adigard des Gautries ont vu dans l'*Ansfredus* de 1033 le *dapifer* du duc Robert et n'ont pas envisagé de voir en lui Onfroy de Vieilles.³⁰ Il paraît difficile de considérer le sénéchalat comme une fonction aulique héréditaire au début du XI^e siècle.³¹ L'exemple le plus probant, pourtant, est celui d'Osbern et de son fils Guillaume, tous deux

²⁵ Thierry est abbé de Jumièges de 1017 à 1027 et du Mont Saint-Michel de 1023 à 1027. Marie Fauroux estime que Thierry agit en abbé des deux abbayes dans l'acte de concession de l'église de Gadencourt (*RADN*, no. 50, p. 163).

²⁶ *RADN*, no. 36. Duclair, dép. Seine-Maritime, ch.-l. cant.; Quillebeuf-sur-Seine, dép. Eure, ch.-l. cant.; Trouville-la-Haule et Sainte-Opportune-la-Mare, dép. Eure, cant. Quillebeuf-sur-Seine.

²⁷ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, p. 155; *RADN*, no. 69.

²⁸ *RADN*, nos 44 et 49 et Index, p. 476 voir l'entrée '*Ansfredus*, beau-frère de Richard II'.

²⁹ *RADN*, no. 85.

³⁰ *RADN*, p. 61, n. 269, et no. 69; Jean Adigard des Gautries, *Les Noms de personnes scandinaves en Normandie de 911 à 1066* (Lund: Blom, 1954), p. 350.

³¹ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, p. 155.

effectivement sénéchaux du duc.³² Or, le fils d'Onfroy, Robert porte à trois reprises le titre de sénéchal du duc, dans les années 1035–50.³³ Ne serait-il pas étonnant que les ducs Robert le Magnifique et Guillaume le Bâtard aient eu chacun deux sénéchaux, les pères puis les fils, et que les sources diplomatiques et narratives n'en aient soufflé mot. La thèse reposant sur une éventuelle erreur du scribe, il est préférable de croire qu'Onfroy n'a pas été sénéchal.

Au terme de ces réflexions, dans les années 1020–30, la famille d'Onfroy de Vieilles ne s'est pas seulement affirmée dans la région de la basse vallée de la Risle et de Beaumont-le-Roger. Dans les années 1020, la vallée de la Seine constitue une zone de forts enjeux politiques et économiques où l'on devine l'intense activité d'hommes comme l'abbé Thierry mais aussi Onfroy. Celui-ci est le seul aristocrate à souscrire les trois diplômes de Richard II délivrés à Saint-Père de Chartres et qui avalisent les avancées des établissements chartrains en Normandie, notamment dans la vallée de la Seine. On est enclin à penser qu'Onfroy doit redouter l'implantation chartraine dans une région sur laquelle il lorgne. L'assise de possessions dont il dispose dans la région de Pont-Audemer a fondu au gré des distributions qu'il a effectuées à plusieurs de ses parents. Mais quand il s'agit de restaurer l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Préaux, ruinée par les Vikings vers le milieu du IX^e siècle, il choisit en 1034 de s'en remettre à Fontenelle dont on sait les liens avec Saint-Père. L'examen des souscriptions d'Onfroy (de Vieilles) autorise des rapprochements tentants sinon audacieux, à une époque où sur un plan religieux l'abbé Thierry appartient à la mouvance fécampoise, alors que Saint-Wandrille se donne des abbés 'français' qui ne doivent rien à la réforme de Guillaume de Volpiano. La génération des fils d'Onfroy, Roger et Robert combleront l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille, sans négliger Préaux.

L'enquête consacrée aux souscriptions d'Onfroy dit de Vieilles suggère une nouvelle appellation. Faudra-t-il parler dorénavant d'Onfroy le Vieux? L'affaire n'est pas si simple quand on prend en considération qu'au XII^e siècle la famille de Harcourt, parente des Beaumont, détient Vieilles.³⁴

³² Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, p. 155.

³³ *RADN*, nos 105, 107, 149. Seul l'acte en faveur de Saint-Léger de Préaux mentionne que le sénéchal Robert est le fils d'*Hunfridus constructor loci*, c'est-à-dire Onfroy de Vieilles (no. 149).

³⁴ Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, pp. 120–23.

THE FATE OF EARL WALTHEOF AND THE IDEA OF PERSONAL LAW IN ENGLAND AFTER 1066

John Hudson

When considering the impact of the Norman Conquest upon English law, F. W. Maitland wrote that, to the Norman invaders,

a scheme of 'personal laws' would have seemed [...] a natural outcome of the conquest. The Norman will proudly retain his Norman law and leave English law to the English. [...] But it was too late for a system of 'personal', that is of racial laws. Even in France law was becoming territorial, and a king of the English who was but duke of the Normans was interested in obliterating a distinction which stood in his way if he was to be king of England. The rules which mark the distinction between the two races rapidly disappear or are diverted from their original purpose.¹

Only small elements of personal law were put in place. There was the murder fine, protecting William's French followers through a heavy monetary penalty on lord or hundred should any of his followers be slain and the killer not arrested.² There was also a distinction in the making of proof, recorded in an Old English text

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¹ Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederic W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn reissued with a new introduction and select bibliography by Stroud F. C. Milsom, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), I, 91.

² *WI art, 3, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1903–16), I, 487; for the standard abbreviations used to identify Anglo-Saxon laws and post-Conquest *leges*, see *Die Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. xi. Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. I: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 405, argues that the text could be from 'late in the Conqueror's own reign'.

known as *Lad*.³ This specifies, for example, that ‘if an Englishman accuses a Frenchman to battle concerning theft or homicide or anything concerning which there should be battle or judgment (*dóm*) between two men, let him have full permission to do this. And if the Englishman refuses that battle, the Frenchman whom the Englishman accuses is to clear himself with an oath against him, with his witnesses (*gewitnesse*) according to Norman law’.⁴ Lastly, according to Maitland, there was the penalty for treason: ‘to this idea of personal law may be due what is apt to look like an act of gross iniquity. Roger of Breteuil and Waltheof conspired against William; Waltheof was condemned to death; Roger was punished “according to the law of the Normans” by disherison and perpetual imprisonment.’⁵ It is with this point that the present paper is specifically concerned.

Maitland’s argument for an eleventh-century awareness of a distinction between English and Norman law concerning the penalty for treason rests entirely on the account of the rebellion of 1075 given by Orderic Vitalis, writing half a century later, in about 1125.⁶ The two chief rebels were the brothers-in-law Roger, earl of Hereford (the Roger of Breteuil of Maitland’s text), and Ralph of Gael, earl of Norfolk. According to Orderic, they sought to recruit Waltheof to their cause, promising him a third of the realm and the restoration of the good customs of the time of King Edward.⁷ Waltheof resisted, and Orderic placed a lengthy speech in his mouth, including the following:

Every man in every people owes absolute loyalty to his lord. [...] No good song is ever sung of a traitor. All peoples curse apostates and traitors as wolves,⁸ and judge them worthy of hanging and extinguish them thereby, and — if they can — set them on the gallows with

³ For the manuscript preservation of this text, see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 399 n. 619.

⁴ *Lad*, 1–2, *Die Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 483–84. See also George S. Garnett, ‘“Franci et Angli”: The Legal Distinction between Peoples after the Conquest’, *ANS*, 8 (1985), 109–37, esp. pp. 130–33.

⁵ Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, I, 91.

⁶ For the date of Orderic writing his Book IV, see *OV*, II, p. xv.

⁷ *OV*, II, 312–14.

⁸ Cf. the notion of the outlaw bearing a wolf’s head, mentioned in the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, 6. 2–2a, *Die Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 631; the captured outlaw was to be surrendered to the king, or his head sent if he defended himself. The *Leges Edwardi* specifically note the word ‘wluesheued’ used by the English. Cf. *OV*, II, 258, who tells that after Earl Edwin, in 1071, had been betrayed by his supporters and slain by the Normans, those who had betrayed him took his head to King William, hoping for a reward. Cf. e.g. *ASC*, ‘D’ and ‘E’, 1071, which just specify that Edwin was killed by his own men.

every kind of ignominy and insult. Achitophel and Judas committed the crime of treachery and both took their own lives by the punishment of hanging, as men unworthy of either earth or heaven.⁹ English law punishes the traitor by beheading, and deprives his whole progeny of their just inheritance. Heaven forbid that my honour be stained by abominable treachery, and that such shame should be voiced abroad about me.¹⁰

Ralph and Roger were disappointed 'and bound him by a terrible oath (*conjuratiōe terribili*)' not to reveal their plan. The rebellion went ahead but was defeated. Returning from Normandy to England, King William summoned all the great men of the realm to his court and 'warmly praised the men who had kept the law and remained true to him (*legitimos heroes et in fide probatos*), and formally asked the fomentors and supporters of rebellion why they preferred iniquity to justice'. The garrison of Norwich surrendered to the King, and Earl Ralph 'was perpetually disinherited concerning England. Expelled, with his wife he therefore returned to Brittany, his paternal right (*patrium ius*) which the English ruler could not take from him'.¹¹

Next Orderic tells us that 'Earl Roger obeyed a summons to the king's court, and when questioned could not deny treachery manifest to the whole world. Therefore he was judged according to the laws of the Normans (*secundum leges Normannorum*), and, having lost all his earthly inheritance, was condemned forever to the king's prison'. He was to die in prison and, Orderic tells us, his sons were still waiting for a pardon from Henry I, which seemed to them too long delayed.¹²

As for Waltheof, he 'was summoned before the king and accused on the deposition of his wife Judith of being a party to the conspiracy and proving unfaithful to his lord'.¹³ He admitted knowledge of the plot, but said that he had refused to give any support in so shameful an affair. Over the next year, judgement was repeatedly postponed, and Waltheof did penance for his sins whilst being kept in the King's prison at Winchester. However,

⁹ For Achitophel, see II Samuel 15. Orderic refers to him elsewhere; e.g. *OV*, IV, 8; VI, 200.

¹⁰ *OV*, II, 314. The Latin for the latter part of this text is 'Omnes gentes apostatam et proditorem sicut lupum maledicunt, et suspendio dignum judicant et opprimunt; et si fors est patibulo cum dedecore multisque probris affigunt. Achitophel et Iudas traditionis scelus machinati sunt; parique suspensionis supplicio nec coelo nec terra digni semetipsos peremerunt. Anglica lex capitis obruncatione traditorem multat; omnemque progeniem ejus naturali hereditate omnino priuat. Absit ut mea nobilitas maculetur proditiōe nefaria; et de me tam turpis per orbem publicetur infamia.'

¹¹ *OV*, II, 314–18. Ralph's property in Brittany was not held of William and therefore was not forfeited, unlike Earl Roger's inheritance.

¹² *OV*, II, 318.

¹³ *OV*, II, 320.

a powerful group of his enemies met in the king's court and after long discussions judged him worthy of death, because he had given tacit consent to his companions in their plot to kill their lord and had neither resisted their attempt to destroy their master nor openly revealed the conspiracy.

The Normans desired his lands and ensured his swift execution, lest he escape. At the place of execution, Waltheof piously distributed his rich garments to the clergy and the poor and then prostrated himself in prayer. Tears and lamentation prevented him completing the Lord's prayer beyond the words 'And lead us not into temptation'. Faced with delay,

the executioner refused to wait any longer, but straightway drew his sword and struck off the earl's head with a mighty blow. Then the severed head was heard by all present to say in a clear voice 'but deliver us from evil. Amen'.¹⁴

What have historians made of the significance of the events and of Orderic's account for the history of treason and personal law? Limited attention seems to have been paid to it by early modern writers concerned with the history and law of the Conquest. According to Samuel Daniel, 'The Earle *Roger Fitz Auber* was taken, and some say, executed; and so was shortly after the Earle *Waltheof*, whose dissent from the act, could not get him pardon for his former consent, though much compassion in respect of his great worthinesse'.¹⁵ In the later eighteenth century, David Hume, in his *History of England*, wrote that

many of the rebels were hanged; some had their eyes put out; others their hands cut off. But William, agreeably to his usual maxims, showed more lenity to their leader, the earl of Hereford, who was only condemned to a forfeiture of his estate, and to imprisonment during pleasure. The king seemed even disposed to remit this last part of the punishment; had not Roger, by a fresh insolence, provoked him to render his confinement perpetual. But Waltheof, being an Englishman, was not treated with so much humanity; though his guilt, always inferior to that of the other conspirators, was atoned for by an early repentance and return to his duty. William, instigated by his niece, as well as by his rapacious courtiers, who longed for so rich a forfeiture, ordered him to be tried, condemned, and executed.¹⁶

Thus Hume closely follows Orderic's account and includes a national element, but still does not present the trials as involving an explicit contrast between English law and that of the Normans.

¹⁴ *OV*, II, 320–23.

¹⁵ Samuel Daniel, *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose*, 5 vols (London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, 1896), IV, 161; originally published in 1612.

¹⁶ David Hume, *The History of England*, 6 vols (London: T. Cadell, 1778), I, 213–14.

Let us move on to the second half of the nineteenth century, and the two writers most likely to have influenced Maitland. Concerning the speech put into Waltheof's mouth by Orderic, E. A. Freeman commented as follows: 'by a somewhat doubtful statement of English Law, he tells them that by that Law the traitor is condemned to lose his head'.¹⁷ Then of Earl Ralph, whom Freeman categorized as English, 'a son of the soil',¹⁸ he stated that 'it would have been vain to pronounce any sentence on him save the accustomed English sentence of outlawry and confiscation of lands'.¹⁹ Earl Roger's 'sentence, according to Norman Law, was confiscation of lands and perpetual imprisonment'.²⁰ As for Waltheof's execution, 'whatever may have been the letter of the law in either country, such an execution was without a precedent for years past either in England or in Normandy'.²¹ Freeman thus is unwilling to accept Orderic's account of English law regarding treason.

William Stubbs, in a footnote in the *Constitutional History*, was likewise very cautious in taking Orderic as demonstrating the existence of distinct laws regarding treason:

Ordericus tells us that Roger of Hereford was tried by the Norman laws and sentenced to the forfeiture of lands and perpetual imprisonment. The same penalty must have been followed if he had been tried by English law. If the words refer to the method of procedure it is difficult to see what difference there could have been between the Norman and the English law, except in the use of trial by battle, which does not appear to have been employed in this case.²²

Stubbs's opinion was quoted and explicitly rejected by Maitland in the *History of English Law*, largely on the basis of Orderic's statement that English law made conspiracy against the king a capital crime.

¹⁷ Edward A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1867–79), IV, 578.

¹⁸ For the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* saying that Ralph was born in England and had an English father, see below, p. 229.

¹⁹ Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, IV, 589.

²⁰ Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, IV, 590, with Orderic's text cited in the accompanying footnote.

²¹ Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, IV, 593–94.

²² William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874–78), I, 372 n. 2. In the sixth edition, published just after the first edition of Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, the sentence 'The same penalty must have been followed if he had been tried by English law' was replaced with 'By English law the crime was capital; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, I, 69'; see Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, I, 401 n. 8.

It is Maitland's view that has prevailed. In the twentieth century the introduction to the second volume of the great edition and translation of Orderic states that Orderic's account of the rebellion of 1075 'brings out the fact that Waltheof forfeited his life because he was subject to English law which prescribed a death penalty for treason, whereas Roger of Hereford suffered forfeiture and life imprisonment for the same offence because he came under French law'.²³ And in the twenty-first century, the leading historian of Norman law in this period comments as follows concerning the fate of the rebels:

That the person least involved should receive the harshest punishment seems manifestly unjust. Orderic forestalls that objection, however, by having Waltheof himself point out, in the course of why he will not participate in the revolt, 'The law of England punishes the traitor by beheading and deprives his whole progeny of their just inheritance.' Anglo-Saxon law prescribed a harsher punishment for treason, in other words, than did 'the laws of the Normans' under which Roger of Hereford was punished; and the apparent discrepancy in the treatment of these rebels is to be explained as an application of the principle of the personality of law in the first decade after the Conquest.²⁴

In the remainder of this paper I argue that Freeman's and Stubbs's caution in adopting Orderic's account was correct, and indeed can be taken further. First, it should be emphasized that Orderic's is far from the earliest account of the rebellion and the retribution exacted thereafter.²⁵ The first narrative is that of the

²³ *OV*, II, pp. xxxviii–xxxix. See also e.g. Forrest S. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 30 (1952), 149–215 (p. 204). Cf. Jean le Foyer, *Exposé du droit pénal Normand au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1931), pp. 123–27. Note also Henri Prentout, 'Les Jugements de la cour du roi dans le procès de la conspiration des barons, 1075–1076', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., 9 (1930), 792–93.

²⁴ Emily Z. Tabuteau, 'Punishments in Eleventh-Century Normandy', in *Conflict in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Warren C. Brown and Piotr Górecki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 131–49 (p. 132). Note also e.g. the view of the literary scholar Robert M. Stein, *Reality Fictions: Romance, History, and Government Authority, 1025–1180* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 101–02: 'Roger [...] loses his English identity as Earl of Hereford when he is imprisoned under Norman law. [...] Waltheof [becomes] definitively English and [was] sentenced to death under English law.' For a more cautious view, see le Foyer, *Exposé du droit pénal Normand*, pp. 102–27, esp. p. 124 n. 1.

²⁵ Note the poetic and saga traditions of Waltheof's death, cited by Carl Watkins, 'The Cult of Earl Waltheof at Crowland', *Hagiographica*, 3 (1996), 95–111 (p. 100). These too give accounts of Waltheof's death very different from Orderic's. See also Brian J. Levy, 'Waltheof "Earl" de Huntingdon et de Northampton: la naissance d'un héros anglo-normand', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 18 (1975), 183–96.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.²⁶ It gives a rather different impression of Waltheof's involvement:

In this year [1075] King William gave the daughter of William fitz Osbern to Earl Ralph. This Ralph was Breton on his mother's side, and Ralph his father was English and was born in Norfolk, and the king therefore gave the earldom there and Suffolk as well to his son. He then took the lady to Norwich.

There was that bride-ale
That was many men's bale

Earl Roger was there and Earl Waltheof and bishops and abbots, and there they plotted to drive their royal lord out of his kingdom.

The *Chronicle* goes on to recount that the rebellion failed and that

the king afterwards came to England and captured Earl Roger, his kinsman, and put him in prison. And Earl Waltheof went overseas and accused himself and asked for pardon and offered treasure. But the king made light of it until he came to England and then he had him captured. [...] The king was that Christmas at Westminster; there all the Bretons who were at the marriage feast at Norwich were sentenced.

Some of them were blinded
And some banished from the land
And some were put to shame.
Thus were the traitors to the king
Brought low.

1076. [...] And Earl Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester on St Petronella's day [31 May]; and his body was taken to Crowland, and he is buried there.²⁷

This account suggests that Orderic's account of Waltheof's treason and punishment merits limited trust.

Among the early twelfth-century writers, William of Malmesbury gives differing versions of Waltheof's activities, told by Normans and English.²⁸ John of

²⁶ Note also *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), nos 31–35. These contain no reference to Waltheof or to personal law.

²⁷ *ASC*, 'D', 1075, 1076, in *English Historical Documents: 1042–1189*, ed. by David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway, 2nd edn (London: Eyre Methuen, 1981), pp. 162–64.; version 'E' contains a similar account.

²⁸ *GR*, I, 468–70; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, ed. and trans. by M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), I, 486–88. In the latter, he tells us that he heard about veneration of Waltheof from a prior of Crowland, for whom he does not give a name.

Worcester's account is based on that of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but does say that Earls Ralph and Roger

forced Earl Waltheof, who knew their schemes, to swear with them. However, as soon as possible he went to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and was given penitence by him for this deed, although his oath had not been given freely. He also on the archbishop's advice went to King William in Normandy and unfolded to him the unlawful event, placing himself in his mercy.

The King held his court the following Christmas,

and some of those who had rebelled against him he outlawed from England and others he disgraced by having their eyes put out or their hands cut off. The Earls Waltheof and Roger, condemned by judicial sentence, he ordered to be kept in a more severe prison. [...] Earl Waltheof was on King William's order taken outside the city of Winchester and beheaded with an axe in an unworthy and cruel way and buried on the spot, but in the course of time his body was raised from the earth as God had ordained and taken to Crowland with great honour and honourably buried in the church.²⁹

Still there is nothing about different laws of English and Normans relating to the trial.³⁰

The only hint of such a distinction comes in the account of the rebellion provided by the 'Hyde' or Warenne chronicle, written probably in the late 1150s.³¹ Although the author almost certainly knew Orderic's *History*,³² he gives an account of Waltheof notably different from Orderic's, and states that after the repression of the rebellion of 1075

at London he was condemned according to the laws of the English and Danes (*secundum leges Anglorum et Dacorum apud Londoniam damnatus*). Soon afterwards, held in prison, he turned fully to the Lord and begged with fasts, tears, and assiduous and intense prayers to be allowed to become a monk and to be held in [God's] service forever. His wish was, however, not fulfilled, though the king himself came to regret it afterwards. Therefore he was beheaded and his body taken to some church that he had built along the sea and it is said that to this day numerous miracles take place at his tomb.³³

²⁹ JW, III, 24–28.

³⁰ For another early twelfth-century account, with no mention of Waltheof, see 'Quedam exceptiones', in *GND*, II, 303.

³¹ See Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'The Warenne View of the Past, 1066–1203', *ANS*, 26 (2004), 103–21 (pp. 110–14) and her Introduction to her forthcoming edition of the chronicle, to be published in Oxford Medieval Texts.

³² See van Houts, 'Warenne View of the Past', p. 113 and n. 70.

³³ *Liber monasterii de Hyda*, ed. by Edward Edwards, Rolls Series, 45 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), p. 295.

Here we have 'the laws of the English and Danes', but no contrast with the laws of the Normans, nor any explicit association of English law with beheading for treason. Orderic's statements, from the border of Normandy and France fifty years after the event, do not therefore receive significant reinforcement from sources closer chronologically or geographically to the events of 1075–76.

A second reason for caution in accepting the current view of the significance of Orderic's account is that it may be based on a flawed reading of his text. Let us take Orderic's statements in reverse order, as Stubbs has already raised a possibility concerning the meaning of 'according to laws of the Normans'.³⁴ Orderic states that Earl Roger 'was judged according to the laws of the Normans, and, having lost all his earthly inheritance, was condemned forever to the king's prison'.³⁵ It seems easiest to read 'secundum leges Normannorum' as referring to the way in which the judgment was made, not the punishment to which he was sentenced.

The phrase *secundum leges* is very rare in Orderic, the only other instance coming in the same Book as the events of 1075–76. In a speech Guitmund, monk of La-Croix-Saint-Leufroi, tells William the Conqueror why he would not remain in England. One reason is that 'Edgar Atheling and several others of the royal line are, according to the laws of the Hebrews and other peoples, closer heirs to the English crown'.³⁶ Here 'laws of the Hebrews and other nations' deal with a matter of substantive law. In other texts phrases such as 'secundum leges' at least as often refer to procedure.³⁷ It seems to be to procedure that William I was referring when, in a speech put in his mouth by William of Poitiers, he stated that 'I am ready to put my case against [Harold] to judgment, according to the law of the Normans (*iuxta ius Normannorum*) or of the English, as he prefers'.³⁸ Stubbs was right to point out that trial by battle is not mentioned by Orderic with reference to Earl Roger of Hereford, but we know from accounts of the aftermath of the rebellion of 1095 both that trial by battle could be used for Normans involved in treason

³⁴ See above, p. 227.

³⁵ *OV*, II, 318.

³⁶ *OV*, II, 276.

³⁷ See e.g. *Lad*, I, 1, *Die Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 483; *Wlep*, 2, *Die Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 485; *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, ed. by Raoul C. van Caenegem, 2 vols, Selden Society, 106, 107 (London: Selden Society, 1990–91), no. 134 ('secundum legem episcopi'), cf. e.g. *English Lawsuits*, no. 164. See also e.g. the essays in *Custom: The Development and Use of a Legal Concept in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Per Andersen and Mia Münster-Swendsen (Copenhagen: DJØF, 2009).

³⁸ *WP*, p. 120.

cases and that not all accounts would mention the form of trial. Regarding 1095, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and John of Worcester mention battle, but Orderic does not.³⁹ Orderic's lack of explicit mention of battle in his account of the earlier rebellion does not invalidate the argument that 'secundum leges Normannorum' refers to the trial procedure, not to the punishment to which he was sentenced.

What then of Waltheof's speech and 'English law'? It is in fact very clear what it says. The contrast is not between English law's death penalty and the lesser punishments imposed by Norman law. Rather Orderic has Waltheof state that

All peoples curse apostates and traitors as wolves, and judge them worthy of hanging and extinguish them thereby, and — if they can — set them on the gallows with every kind of ignominy and insult. Achitophel and Judas committed the crime of treachery and both took their own lives by the punishment of hanging, as men unworthy of either earth or heaven. English law punishes the traitor by beheading, and deprives his whole progeny of their just inheritance.⁴⁰

Thus, all nations have the death penalty for treason.⁴¹ Hanging is the norm, but English law specifies beheading. The proper reading of Orderic therefore suggests that even in matters of treason the element of personal law in post-Conquest England was less than Maitland argued.

Orderic certainly saw the fate of Waltheof as an example of Norman oppression of the English.⁴² He had visited Crowland, where the older monks told Orderic that the Earl had been 'a loyal brother and supporter' of Crowland.⁴³ Following his account of Waltheof's execution and burial, he included both a summary he had made of the *Life* of Saint Guthlac and a history of the house which he had written at the request of its abbot, Geoffrey of Orléans. At the end of this comes his account of Waltheof's miracles at Crowland, where his cult was promoted both by

³⁹ *English Lawsuits*, ed. by van Caenegem, no. 143.

⁴⁰ *OV*, II, 314.

⁴¹ Note also George S. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 36–39, on conspiracy, treason, and regicide in canonical sources.

⁴² This case is stated particularly strongly by Stein, *Reality Fictions*, pp. 100–03, for whose interpretation of the personal law element, see above, note 24. Cf. Watkins, 'Cult of Waltheof', esp. pp. 103, 111, on Orderic's account of the incipient cult of Waltheof: at p. 103 he argues that, although 'vestiges of antagonism between Norman and English still appeared', 'Orderic did not fashion an icon of opposition to the Norman kings. Waltheof *was* a martyr and saint, but not a rebel in a long-dead political cause'.

⁴³ *OV*, II, 324.

Abbot Ingulf, who was English born but a former monk of Saint Wandrille, and by his successor, the Frenchman Geoffrey of Orléans.⁴⁴ This background provides some help in explaining Orderic's depiction of Waltheof's fate. Beheading may have been particularly appropriate for a martyrdom story.⁴⁵ It may be at Crowland that he heard the explanation that beheading was English law.⁴⁶ Alternatively, it may have been his own explanation of Waltheof's particular fate, possibly encouraged by pre-existing Norman ideas, some of which Orderic would have come across in his reading. As we have seen, the writings of William of Poitiers, as well as some of William I's legislation, draw an explicit distinction between English and Norman law concerning some matters.⁴⁷

Yet it remains difficult to explain why Orderic provided the explicit statement that beheading was the punishment for treason in English law.⁴⁸ Commenting on the 'personality of law' was not his major concern. Indeed, his statements provide less of a stark contrast than might appear from some modern summaries. The key phrases are not linguistically parallel nor immediately juxtaposed in the texts: the first is 'Anglica lex', the second 'secundum legem Normannorum', and between the two comes Orderic's account of the rebellion. The first passage certainly concerns punishment; the second may concern trial procedure.

⁴⁴ *OV*, II, 324–50; also *OV*, II, pp. xxv–xxix, and Watkins, 'Cult of Waltheof', p. 96. For the cult at Crowland in the time between Waltheof's death and Orderic's visit, see Watkins, 'Cult of Waltheof', pp. 96–98, and also p. 99 for evidence of the cult at Romsey.

⁴⁵ Note the number of English saints who were decapitated; e.g. Oswald of Northumbria and Edmund of East Anglia. Osyth of Chich after her death carried her severed head to the church where she was buried. David Crouch points out to me that Saint Nicasius continued to sing a psalm after he had been beheaded; see *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1 (1882), p. 613. Nicasius's martyrdom was well known in twelfth-century Normandy; see Samantha K. Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), Appendix 2. However, Orderic makes no mention of Nicasius.

⁴⁶ Note, however, that William of Malmesbury does not employ this explanation, despite his Crowland contact; see above, note 28.

⁴⁷ See above, pp. 223–24, 231. The *Collectio Lanfranci* contains material that might encourage thinking in terms of personal law, but Lanfranc certainly does not appear to have been an advocate of execution as the appropriate penalty for Waltheof in 1075–76.

⁴⁸ Note that the version of Waltheof's participation in the rebellion provided by the Crowland *Vita et passio Waldeui comitis* draws heavily on Orderic, but cuts the references to English law and the law of the Normans; *Original Lives of Anglo-Saxons and Others Who Lived Before the Conquest*, ed. by John A. Giles, Caxton Society, 16 (London: Caxton Society, 1854), pp. 11, 13–14. Watkins, 'Cult of Waltheof', p. 97, suggests that 'the *Vita* can be plausibly dated to around 1219' and was of Crowland provenance.

Orderic's accounts of other rebels should also be noted. He correctly tells us that when Earl Morcar surrendered at Ely in 1071 he was imprisoned.⁴⁹ No mention is here made of the possibility of beheading or of any other form of execution or even of lesser physical punishment. In 1075, on the other hand, the King's men punished those rebels captured at Fawdon (Cambs.) by cutting off their right feet; there is no indication of the nationality of those rebels, nor of any distinction being made according to nationality.⁵⁰

Orderic's portrayal of the punishment of rebels in the 1070s thus does not indicate consistency of practice, involving beheading for the English and for the English alone.⁵¹ Furthermore, the surviving evidence suggests that beheading for treason was very unusual in Anglo-Saxon England. Amidst the spate of executions that took place in the purge early in Cnut's reign, Eadric Streona was, according to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, beheaded, but this is an isolated instance.⁵² Let us return, then, a final time to 1075, and to an absolutely contemporary source, a letter of Archbishop Lanfranc to the King:

Glory be to God on high, by whose mercy your kingdom has been purged of its Breton dung. Norwich castle has surrendered and those Bretons in it who held lands in England have been granted their lives and limbs; they have sworn for their part to leave your kingdom within forty days and never to enter it again without your permission. The landless mercenaries who served Ralph the traitor and his associates begged for and were granted the same terms within the limit of one month.⁵³

Lanfranc here suggests the possibility of the death penalty for Breton rebels, again weakening any notion that such punishment was peculiar to English law. The

⁴⁹ *OV*, II, 256–58.

⁵⁰ *OV*, II, 316; for the location, see B. Dickins, 'Fagaduna in Orderic (AD 1075)', in *Otium et negotium: Studies in Onomatology and Library Science Presented to Olof von Feilitzen*, ed. by F. Sandgren (Stockholm: Kungl. Boktryckeriet, 1973), pp. 44–45. On the possibility of the death penalty for rebellion in Normandy, see also e.g. *OV*, IV, 110–12.

⁵¹ Note also that when, according to Orderic, the English supporters of William Rufus urged the execution of rebels in 1088, it was the noose not the axe that was foremost in their minds: *OV*, IV, 126–34.

⁵² *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, II, 15, ed. and trans. by Alistair Campbell, rev. by Simon Keynes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 30–32; see also HH, p. 362. Cf. *ASC*, 'C', 1017, which does not specify the form of death. *GR*, I, 320, reported that Eadric was strangled or stifled.

⁵³ *Letters of Lanfranc*, ed. by Clover and Gibson, no. 35.

possibility of death allowed any lesser sentence to be presented as merciful.⁵⁴ In Edward the Confessor's England, Duke William's Normandy, and the post-Conquest Anglo-Norman world, the most common outcomes for those accused of treachery were forfeiture and imprisonment, outlawry, or exile, sometimes reversed in the near or distant future.⁵⁵ The fate of rebels rested not on personal law but on political decisions.⁵⁶ Waltheof's fate was so memorable because it was so exceptional.

⁵⁴ See also Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. by Robert B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), p. 133, for Robert Curthose being presented as merciful regarding those who had been guilty of treachery and sentenced to death.

⁵⁵ For forfeiture, outlawry, imprisonment, or exile in pre-1066 England, see Patrick Wormald, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits', *ASE*, 17 (1988), 247–81, e.g. nos 27, 30, 162, 164, 165, 170. This does not mean that rebels could ignore the possibility of death resulting from their actions; see e.g. *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, I, 3, ed. and trans. by Frank Barlow, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 36, presenting the Godwins as narrowly escaping capture and possible death in 1051. On the dangers of late Anglo-Saxon politics, see further John Gillingham, 'The Introduction of Chivalry in England', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. by George S. Garnett and John G. H. Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 31–55 (pp. 38–39); Gillingham draws a contrast with the situation in contemporary Normandy (pp. 36–38, 43), and he follows Maitland's line on personal law and the fate of the rebels in 1075–76 (pp. 41–42, 45–46).

⁵⁶ Note how in Orderic's account of Waltheof, it is pressure from the King's Norman followers that eventually leads to his execution; see above, p. 226. See also e.g. *WP*, p. 42. For comparative purposes, see e.g. Timothy Reuter, 'Peace-breaking, Feud, Rebellion, Resistance: Violence and Peace in the Politics of the Salian Era', in *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. by Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 355–87.

INTERMARRIAGE IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Elisabeth van Houts

Exogamy, in the sense of intermarriage between a foreigner and a native, is a surprisingly neglected topic in the study of medieval Europe. It is usually discussed briefly with reference to high-status marriage alliances where the individuals concerned can be identified. Sometimes it comes up in more abstract discussions of migratory movements, colonization, and settlement, when usually there is very little or no detail on the men and women involved. The situation in the aftermath of political conquest, whether or not following some initial migration, is different in that high-status marriage alliances between conquerors and conquered are often followed by some measure of exogamy once newcomers settle down. The upheaval after conquest also often generates a trail of records (written and material) that might enable the modern historian to trace the relationship between foreigners and natives. Except during their initial settlement in Neustria, the Normans illustrate such a process in southern Italy or as crusaders in the Holy Land.¹ Eleventh-century England with its Danish and Norman conquests

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¹ Early Normandy: Jean Adigard des Gautries, *Les Noms de personnes Scandinaves en Normandie de 911 à 1066* (Lund: Blom, 1954), pp. 251–53; David Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (London: Longman, 1982), p. 21; Pierre Bauduin, *La Première Normandie (X^e–XI^e siècles): sur la frontières de la haute Normandie. Identité et construction d'une principauté* (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2004), pp. 128–32 (on the significance of Rollo's liaison with Poppa of Bayeux). Southern Italy: Léon R. Ménager, *Hommes et institutions de l'Italie Normande*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1981), no. iv, pp. 189–214; Holy Land: James Brundage, 'Prostitution, Miscegenation and Sexual Purity in the First Crusade', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusaders and the Latin East, and Presented to*

seemingly fits this scenario very well, because there is all manner of evidence testifying to English exogamy across society after 1016 and 1066. Admittedly, both cases represent takeovers by a military elite whose numbers we do not know but are generally thought to be relatively small, ranging from the high hundreds to lower thousands, not tens of thousands. This fresh investigation of intermarriage, based on the first ever catalogue and taking into account gender, will argue that in England in times of conquest exogamy was exceptional and that endogamy amongst English and foreigners remained the norm.

Modern scholarship on the English experience in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries has concentrated on intermarriage after the Norman Conquest, with only sporadic comment on the Danish conquest.² Based on onomastic and linguistic evidence Cecily Clark made an influential argument for intermarriage of English women and foreign men pointing at a time lag of approximately one generation in the adoption of foreign names for Englishwomen. Relatively few of them took on French names (in contrast to English men, more of whom did), probably indicating few continental women's name models, which in turn would strongly suggest that foreigners took English wives.³ Eleanor Searle pointed out that the Conqueror used his prerogatives of lordship to hand over English heiresses and widows to his landless followers with the intention that their offspring might hold land by hereditary and conquest rights.⁴ Pauline Stafford suggested that the

R. C. Smail, ed. by Peter Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 57–65 (pp. 60–61); General, and for eastern Europe: Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), pp. 55–56 (intermarriage) and pp. 230–35 (intermarriage in eastern Europe). Intermarriage between the Anglo-Normans and Irish in the 1180s is briefly discussed in Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066–c.1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), p. 139.

² For the notion that in Cnut's time marriages between Danish newcomers and indigenous people were quite common, see Ann Williams, "'Cockles amongst the Wheat': Danes and English in the Western Midlands in the First Half of the Eleventh Century', *Midland History*, 11 (1986), 1–22 (p. 14). Pauline Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 4 (1994), 221–49 (p. 243), is more circumspect. Cecily Clark, 'Clark's First Three Laws of Applied Anthroponymics', in *Words, Names and History: Selected Writings by Cecily Clark*, ed. by Peter Jackson (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995), pp. 77–83 (pp. 82–83).

³ Cecily Clark, 'Women's Names in Post-conquest England: Observations and Speculations', in *Words, Names and History*, ed. by Jackson, pp. 17–43; Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1995), p. 200; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 148.

⁴ Eleanor Searle, 'Women and the Legitimization of Succession at the Norman Conquest', *ANS*, 3 (1980), 159–70, 226–92; also Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', pp. 221–49;

Conqueror in this respect followed in his predecessors' footsteps when she touched briefly on the topic of intermarriage in her studies of women in Domesday Book and the Norman Conquest.⁵ And more recently, Hugh Thomas concluded in a short but stimulating chapter on intermarriage entitled 'English Women and Norman Men' that ethnic hostility in the first two generations after the Conquest must have precluded widespread intermarriage, especially amongst the aristocracy. He also expressed some scepticism about the role of English women as transmitters of English culture.⁶ Prosopographical investigations have produced contradictory conclusions. On the one hand research into the origins of continental people in England, based on Domesday Book and related documents, failed to bring out evidence for significant intermarriage and led Katharine Keats-Rohan to question its incidence.⁷ On the other hand, John Moore's study of the *libri vitae* of England, based in part on unpublished research by Cecily Clark, stressed the existence of mixed couples commemorated at the abbeys at Thorney and Winchester. That evidence led him to conclude that they provided significant evidence for intermarriage.⁸ Recent assessments of intermarriage in textbooks, which usually give only a handful of (different) examples, are carefully phrased and tentative, ranging from 'not uncommon especially in the middling and lower ranks' to 'more common than the surviving sources permit us to see'.⁹

Any new investigation has to start with a definition of intermarriage and a sense of the numbers involved. Exogamous marriage, or intermarriage, involves a sexual

Pauline Stafford, 'Women in Domesday Book', in *Medieval Women in Southern England*, Reading Medieval Studies, 15 (Reading: Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Reading, 1989), pp. 75–94.

⁵ Stafford, 'Women in Domesday Book', p. 87; Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', p. 246.

⁶ Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 138–60.

⁷ Katharine Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166*, vol. 1: *Domesday Book* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), pp. 27–29.

⁸ John Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems of English *libri vitae*', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: British and French Prosopography from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. by Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), pp. 165–88 (p. 187); John Moore, 'Family Entries in English *libri vitae* c.1050 to c.1530, Part I', *Nomina*, 16 (1992–93), 99–128 (on New Minster and Hyde Abbey) and John Moore, 'Family Entries in English *libri vitae* c.1050 to c.1530, Part II', *Nomina*, 18 (1995), 77–117 (on Thorney Abbey), at p. 81.

⁹ Judith Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 354–55 and pp. 436–37; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 199.

union between a foreigner and a native person, living together as a couple and having offspring, in a manner sanctioned by society. By the eleventh century this would mean for my argument a Christian union between an English and a Scandinavian or French person, though in the absence of clear rules as to what exactly established marriage in practice, my definition also covers concubinage. In my analysis I have also included a few cases of betrothal, since engagement to be married represents intention to marry. As for an exploration of the scale of intermarriage, it is absolutely vital to offer some quantification of our information, however fallible and fragile any statistics for our period inevitably will be given the fragmentary survival of sources.¹⁰ Needless to say, a compilation of any list is fraught with methodological problems. Conservative in my approach, I have only included cases for which we have proof of identity and 'nationality', that is, that we have a source that identifies, or allows us by inference to identify, a man or a woman as English, or living in England, who is said to have married a Scandinavian (usually Danish) or a French person (Norman, Breton, Flemish, or unspecified). Such cases are rare and usually concern high-status marriages, such as that of Earl Godwine and King Cnut's sister-in-law Gytha (1019/22) or Earl Waltheof and William the Conqueror's niece Judith (1070). Testimony of the offspring sometimes tells us about their parents' mixed origins, as in the case of the historian Orderic Vitalis (d. c. 1142) who reports that his father, Odelerius of Orléans, married an English-woman. Alternatively, the descent of land gives us clues as to the identity of marriage partners, and thus whether couples were of mixed origin. A good example is Walter of Douai, a Flemish knight who according to Domesday Book (1086) held land at Uffculme (Devon), held in 1066 by one *Eddeva*. According to an 1136 memorandum on Uffculme she was Walter's wife Eadgytha, widow of Hemming. Mostly, however, we are left to interpret onomastic material using methods such as socio-onomastics developed by Cecily Clark and by Chris Lewis.¹¹ Following in their footsteps my assumption is that in eleventh-century England any union between a person with a continental name (Breton, Norman-French, or Old German) and a person with an insular name (Old Danish, Old Norse, Old English)

¹⁰ Milton L. Barron, 'Research on Intermarriage: A Survey of Accomplishments and Prospects', *American Journal of Sociology*, 57 (1951), 249–55; D. L. Pagnini and S. P. Morgan, 'Intermarriage and Social Distance amongst U.S. Immigrants at the Turn of the Century', *American Journal of Sociology*, 96 (1990), 405–32.

¹¹ Christopher P. Lewis, 'Joining the Dots: A Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. by Keats-Rohan, pp. 69–87 (pp. 76–79).

might represent a mixed marriage. The usual caveats need to be kept in mind, given that for the early eleventh century it is often unclear whether a person with a Scandinavian name is a descendant of a much earlier Danelaw immigrant or is an immigrant him(her)self. Moreover, French people, especially from Normandy, might bear Scandinavian names if they were called after ancestor-settlers from early Normandy.¹² Given that there were French immigrants in England before 1066, there is the additional problem of people of mixed descent. In two cases I have included amongst the English in the period *c.* 1042–66 men who themselves are half French/half English (Ralph ‘the Staller’ and William Malet) and one who is only one quarter English (Ralph of Gael) on the grounds that they lived and worked mostly in England. Socio-linguists would argue that their living environment, not their name labels, determines their ‘national’ identity. The case of Queen Emma is similarly ambiguous; I have counted her as ‘Norman’ in her marriage to King Æthelred (1002), but ‘English’ as wife of King Cnut (1017).¹³ A special problem relates to the period *c.* 1087–*c.* 1110 because we must allow for the likelihood that some of the continental onomastic evidence concerns the children of the Norman/French invaders of 1066 who were born in England and thus were more or less English. Moreover, as Cecily Clark herself has pointed out on various occasions, continental men’s names in this period do not necessarily belong to Frenchmen, but increasingly belonged to Englishmen who were named after the conquerors. Therefore, unions between a man with a continental name and a woman with an insular one do not automatically signify exogamy unless there is other evidence to support such a conclusion. In the Appendix at the end of this contribution I have arranged in alphabetical order the names according to gender, so men and women are separately recorded. No gendered analysis can be made without having these data on record.¹⁴ In order to assess any development over time, the eleventh century has been divided into five segments, roughly corresponding

¹² Christopher P. Lewis, ‘The French in England’, *ANS*, 17 (1994), 123–44.

¹³ I have omitted English people living abroad and marrying there, like Æthelred’s daughter Godgifu who married first Drogo of the Vexin and secondly Eustace II of Boulogne; Gunhild, daughter of Cnut and Emma, who married Emperor Henry III; Edward the Exile who married Agatha, kinswoman of Emperor Henry III; or Margaret, daughter of Edward the Exile, who married Malcolm III of Scotland. I have also omitted other continental people who were not French or Scandinavian, such as Otto the Goldsmith who married Leofgifu, Eve of Wilton’s Lotharingian mother and Danish father; nor have I included the Welsh or Scots.

¹⁴ J. A. Jacobs and T. G. Labov, ‘Gender Differentials in Intermarriage among Sixteen Race and Ethnic Groups’, *Sociological Forum*, 17 (2002), 621–46.

with periods leading up to conquests (c. 1000–16 and 1042–66), periods of post-conquest (1017–41 and 1067–86, including Domesday Book), and a further period of post-conquest (1087–c. 1110).

A final point remains to be made and concerns the nature of the sources for the periods following the Danish and Norman conquests, and of course their striking inequality. The only type of source that has survived in larger numbers from Cnut's reign in comparison with William the Conqueror's is royal legislation. Otherwise the later period is much better served. The existence of Domesday Book allows us to trace landholding by individuals in 1066 and 1086 on a scale unmatched anywhere in medieval Europe, including England under Danish rule, but its very existence also skews the figures given here. Another, less dramatic discrepancy exists for royal and aristocratic charters. The richness of narrative sources, both vernacular (the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) and Latin, for the early twelfth century is striking compared with their dearth in the early eleventh century, while the entries in *libri vitae* too accumulate after c. 1100. The *libri vitae* are manuscripts which contain lists of people who were admitted to the confraternity of monastic communities. In return for benefactions, sometimes in the form of annual subscriptions, the monks would keep a record of their benefactors so that their memory would be kept alive and more importantly that they would be commemorated in the monks' prayers.

Three *libri vitae* have survived: one deriving from Durham (from c. 840), another from New Minster-Hyde Abbey at Winchester (from c. 1031–32), and a third from Thorney Abbey (from c. 1100). Over a period of centuries names were added to pages already overflowing with entries.¹⁵ The numbers of names are impressive: Durham, more than ten thousand; Winchester, 'many thousands'; and

¹⁵ *The Durham Liber Vitae*: London British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A. VII, ed. by David Rollason and Lynda Rollason, 3 vols (London: British Library, 2007); *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester: British Library Stow 944 [...]*, ed. by Simon Keynes, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996); and *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey*, ed. by Walter De Gray Birch (London: Hampshire Record Office, 1982). Thorney Abbey's *Liber Vitae* (unpublished) can be found in BL, Additional MS 40,000, fols 1^v–12^r. For the *libri vitae* of New Minster-Hyde (based on the old edition by Walter De Gray Birch) and Thorney (on the basis of unpublished research by Cecily Clark) couples are listed (incompletely) side by side in Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems of English *libri vitae*', pp. 183–86. For reasons I explain in note 17 below, I have ignored Moore's datings given here. Partial editions of the Anglo-Saxon names in all three *libri vitae* can be found in Jan Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen mit einem Katalog der Libri vitae und Necrologien* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), pp. 304–20 (Durham), 320–26 (Winchester), 326–28 (Thorney).

Thorney, 2300.¹⁶ In the absence of any systematic sorting and dating of family entries and couples amongst the mass of names, we are left for the moment with approximations. The evidence from the *libri vitae* bears on the divide between the pre- and post-1086 period (itself dictated by the existence of Domesday Book compiled in 1086), especially between the numbers of Englishwomen marrying foreigners.¹⁷ Table 1 reveals an undoubted increase in cases of intermarriage, but its sharpness may be illusionary due to the fact that the dating of the marriages in the final period (1087–c. 1110), many of which derive from the *libri vitae*, is based on palaeographical grounds rather than on precise (and thus datable) identification. These caveats have to be borne in mind when we assess the total numbers I have given in the Appendix. In tabular form the results of my search for endogamous marriages across the sources, and listed in the Appendix, underscores the small numbers involved:

Table 1. English people marrying Scandinavians (S) or Frenchmen (F).

	1000–16	1017–41	1042–66	1067–86	1087–c. 1110
Men	1F	1S	4/7F	6F	9F
Women	1F 1S	8/9S	3F	10F	34F

¹⁶ For Durham, see *Durham Liber Vitae*, ed. by Rollason and Rollason, I, 29 where 1688 are given for the period c. 1300–1500; Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung*, p. 109 gives 3120 for the original period around 840 alone, and a brief glance at the entries for the eleventh and twelfth centuries on fols 51–55 suggests at least several hundred names. For Winchester, see Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung*, p. 155; for Thorney Abbey, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'Scandinavian Personal Names in the *liber vitae* of Thorney Abbey', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 12 (1937–45), 127–53 (pp. 129–30); Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung*, p. 189; Cecily Clark, 'British Museum Additional MS 40,000 ff 1^v–12^r', in *Words, Names and History*, ed. by Jackson, pp. 301–16 (p. 301).

¹⁷ In the absence of a comprehensive study of the Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae* my dating of the name blocks on fol. 9^v (1100–20) and fol. 10^{r-v} (1090–1115) is conservative and based on that of Dorothy Whitelock, 'Scandinavian Personal Names', pp. 129–30, and Cecily Clark, 'British Library Additional Ms 40,000 ff 1^v–12^r', in *Words, Names and History*, ed. by Jackson, pp. 301–16 (and confirmed by Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung*, pp. 187–88), as indicated in my appendix on the codicological make-up of the Thorney *Liber Vitae* to Clark, 'British Library Additional Ms 40,000', pp. 317–19. In his appendix to his article in *Nomina* (1995; repr. as an appendix to his 'Prosopographical Problems', 1997) Moore dates entries for fol. 9^v with surprising precision to c. 1066 or 1066x1100. Since Moore does not justify his dating I presume he silently changed the conventional dates, reached on palaeographical grounds, i.e. the date of copying, to dates potentially representing 'catchment' periods which might have extended back in time. Indeed, amongst the names copied around 1100 Whitelock ('Scandinavian Personal Names', pp. 131–33) identified several such blocks for the early eleventh century. However, without any supporting evidence that some names represent people who lived c. 1066 or in the years 1066x1100 I cannot accept Moore's conclusions.

Unsurprisingly, for the period of the Danish rule (up to 1041) the figures are smaller than for the initial period of Norman rule for the simple reason that the former lasted only just over two decades while the latter lasted much longer. When we compare the immediate post-Conquest Norman period (1067–86) with that of the Danish period (1017–41) the numbers for Englishwomen marrying foreigners more or less match, whereas for the men they diverge much more widely. King Cnut allowed only one of his Englishmen (Godwine) to marry a Scandinavian woman, his own sister-in-law Gytha. In contrast, in the first two decades after his Conquest — so quite early on — William the Conqueror allowed or planned to allow many more indigenous men to marry foreign (Norman and Flemish) women in a clear attempt to win their collaboration: at the top of the social scale are Earls Edwin and Waltheof, to whom he gave or planned to give his own kinswomen, with, further down, Edward of Salisbury, Edwin the hunter, and Hereward (the Fenland rebel after his reconciliation). This is important evidence for William's willingness to work with Englishmen who were prepared to submit to the Conqueror's demands so early after the Conquest. Given that the evidence suggests a contrast with Cnut's regime one wonders whether initially William consciously followed a more conciliatory policy by making available French women for men whose local knowledge was of utmost importance to him.¹⁸ Eleanor Searle's argument that conquerors used women to legitimize conquests is thus in fact more true for the Danish conquest (which she did not discuss) than for the Norman Conquest, when several indigenous men, on account of their foreign wives, were allowed to keep (or receive) land and offices. This finding is an important (gendered) correction to the picture that is created in modern textbooks on the Norman Conquest which underestimates the usefulness of marriage for Englishmen as a social and political tool to appease the new ruler.¹⁹

The data for marriages of indigenous Englishwomen in the immediate aftermath of the two foreign conquests is roughly comparable. Apart from King Cnut's own marriage to his predecessor's widow, Queen Emma, all other eight cases of intermarriage concern his Danish followers who married wealthy Englishwomen. Most of them had land, but whether they were all (like the Ramsey case) widows is unknown: for example, Thurkil, earl of East Anglia, and his wife Edith; Thurkil the White and Leofflæd, who held twenty-five manors in Herefordshire; Toki and

¹⁸ Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 149–50, makes a similar point about initial conciliation.

¹⁹ The chapter on intermarriage in Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, is tellingly entitled 'English Women and Norman Men' (pp. 138–60).

Æthelflæd with land in Buckinghamshire; Ocea and Ealdgyth, a considerable landholder in Gloucestershire; and the anonymous Dane mentioned in the *Ramsey Chronicle* whose unnamed English wife was the widow of an Englishman at *Athelint*. Nothing is known about any holdings belonging to Osgod [Clapa?]'s wife, Æthelswyth. The women's wealth is a significant point because, in the absence of large-scale confiscation of lands as a result of death in battle by their owners, Cnut had fewer options than William to hand out estates to followers in need of rewards.²⁰

For the post-1066 period there is less evidence for the wealth of Englishwomen who married Frenchmen than for Cnut's time, and thus less evidence for exploitation of wealthy women. The middle-ranking Robert d'Oilly married Ealdgyth, whose father, Wigot of Wallingford, handed over to the Normans control of that crucial Thames crossing not far from Oxford. A certain Richard was given the widow of Ælfwen the sheriff (and their land). The, presumably lower-born, follower of Wihenoc, according to Domesday Book, 'fell in love with a girl in [south] Pickenham [Norfolk]' whose small plot he subsequently held. But we know nothing about any land belonging to Orderic Vitalis's mother near Shrewsbury when she married the French priest Odelerius from Orléans or about any estates which passed with Gilbert of Sempringham's mother 'of inferior birth' to the Norman Jocelin. To these early cases of exogamy we can now add at the top of the social scale the Conqueror's kinsman Alan the Red, earl of Richmond, who received King Harold's daughter Gunhild, and the middle ranking Walter of Douai, who married Hemming's widow, Eadgifu/Eadgytha. Only after the first two decades, long after the wars of conquest had ceased, did marriage between people with indigenous names and continental names become more common, if still infrequent.

Intermarriage not only followed on from conquest, crucially it also (on a tiny scale) preceded it. In the run-up to the military takeovers some marriage arrangements between the foreign conqueror-to-be and the indigenous ruling class took place. These high-ranking unions were aimed at sealing political alliances whereby the men and women involved were more or less hostages to guarantee military agreements: as early as 1016, before he was recognized by all as King of England, Cnut 'married' Ælfgifu of Northampton, and in 1064 or 1065 William of Normandy had already promised his eldest daughter Adelaide/Adeliza in marriage to Earl Harold in the event he became King of England. In both periods, too, lower down the social scale foreigners courted English girls whose names have not survived and this illustrates a social phenomenon common to bachelor soldiers

²⁰ M. Kenneth Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 166–67.

stationed abroad far away from home. An early thirteenth-century Saint Albans/Wallingford tradition records that in King Æthelred's time Danish men took a weekly bath on Saturday, combed their hair excessively, and changed clothes frequently with an eye to attract Englishwomen. The story holds that it was the resulting intermarriage and mixed offspring that caused King Æthelred to order the massacre of the Danes on Saint Brice's day (1002) which fell on a Friday. Despite the late date of the source, its origin not far from Oxford, the only place for which there is incontrovertible evidence of Æthelred's ethnic killing, may inspire some confidence.²¹ During King Edward's reign, preceding the Norman Conquest, there was some French immigration, as we have seen, though the evidence for intermarriage at all levels of society again is relatively tiny. Near the top we find the King's nephew, Ralph, son of his sister Godgifu and Drogo of the Vexin, who married Gytha, a woman of Midlands origin, while slightly lower down Ralph the Staller and William Malet, both of half French origin themselves but living in England, married a Breton and a French — or even perhaps Lotharingian — woman respectively. The Worcestershire thegn Ælfweard was married to Queen Edith's woman Matilda, a match that suggests royal (or queenly) initiative.

Without any doubt, the largest increase in marriage between people with insular names and people with continental names comes from the post-Domesday Book period and coincides with the beginning of the second generation of newcomers. This period from the late 1080s presents most clearly the textbook image of foreign men marrying local girls.²² For these years part of the evidence for the

²¹ *The Chronicle Attributed to John of Wallingford*, ed. by Richard Vaughan, Camden Miscellany, 26 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1958), p. 60; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 189; without reference to this source, see Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 204–05; with reference to this source, deemed entirely legendary, see Simon Keynes, 'The Massacre of St. Brice's Day (13 November 1002)', in *Beretning fra seksogtyvende tværfaglige vikingesymposium*, ed. by N. Lund (Aarhus: Forlaget Hikuin og Afdeling for Middelalder- og Renæssancearkæologi, Aarhus Universitet, 2007), pp. 32–67 (pp. 50–52). I am most grateful to Simon Keynes for a copy of this publication.

²² Cecily Clark, 'Women's Names', pp. 235–38. Some cases of potential mixed marriages, mentioned in earlier work, were dropped by her in this publication; e.g. Eadmer tells us about his sister's son Haimo (*The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, ed. by Richard W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 159), whose name suggests that his father may have been of continental origin; cf. *The Life of St Anselm*, ed. by Southern, p. 159 n. 1, and Cecily Clark, 'People and Languages in Post-conquest Canterbury', in *Words, Names and History*, ed. by Jackson, pp. 180–206 (p. 187), but equally he may have taken on a continental name as monk at Christ Church Canterbury.

mixed couples listed in my Appendix derives from the *libri vitae* of New Minster-Hyde at Winchester, Thorney Abbey, and Durham Cathedral, in which many of the individuals recorded have not been identified. All we have are the names of partners in what seems to be mixed marriages clustered round three ecclesiastical institutions. They must be people from the landholding classes, or at least of free peasant status with a small plot of land, in order to have been able to afford to pay the monks to have their names recorded as belonging to the confraternity.²³ Where we can identify couples of whom both are named, as opposed to a named man with an anonymous wife, the overwhelming majority of the marriages are endogamous.²⁴ Consequently it is crucial to note that unions between people with continental names and those between people with insular names far outnumber the intermarriage cases. For the period 1066–c. 1110, therefore, exogamy seems to be exceptional: one case in Durham in the north of England where Norman settlement was thinnest; twelve cases in the region of Thorney Abbey, the Fenland abbey with a considerable catchment area according to its cartulary, the Thorney Red Book; and fifteen cases in Winchester, the second city of England.²⁵ In the light of these modest numbers one might ask the question, which at present cannot be answered, to what extent would confraternity lists of other monasteries in northern and southern England — had they survived — have revealed similar patterns of modest intermarriage? It is most frustrating that we do not have this information, and such details as we have from studies of benefactions in Anglo-Norman England only throw up names already contained in the Appendix.²⁶

²³ Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 81.

²⁴ Cf. Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 147.

²⁵ All numbers are checked against the modern editions of the confraternity books, plus Clark, 'Women's Names', pp. 246–47 (New Minster-Hyde); for Thorney Abbey I rely on the information given by Moore, but reject his identification of one couple (fol. 9^v, Robert and Hathewis) as mixed (Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 186). I reject also from the New Minster-Hyde *Liber Vitae* Leofyne = Walter Scot, Hyde *Liber Vitae*, Facsimile ed. by Keynes, fol. 29^v (comm. by Keynes, p. 98) on the grounds given by Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 247. Note that Moore's lists of couples in his appendices to his *Nomina* articles and reprinted in his 'Prosopographical Problems' are incomplete. For the catchment area of Thorney Abbey, see Cecily Clark, 'The "Liber Vitae" of Thorney Abbey and its Catchment Area', in *Words, Names and History*, ed. by Jackson, pp. 320–38.

²⁶ E.g. Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1135* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998) is the nearest study that allows a control exercise by checking if amongst the benefactors of its monasteries there were any intermarried couples. I have also checked the necrological material in Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, pp. 328–59, as well as scattered confraternity material, such as Hirokazu Tsurushima, 'The Fraternity of Rochester

Is there any other way in which we might be able to verify or assess the 'statistics' as I have presented them? Fortunately, we have contemporary remarks about intermarriage, though only for the Norman period and not for the Danish. From the late eleventh century onwards exogamy attracted a few snippets from observers at home and abroad. On the Continent in Bavaria, Frutolf of Michelsberg (d. 1103) noted in his chronicle under 1066 amongst other consequences of the Norman Conquest of England (exiled bishops, murdered nobles, and servitude of middle-ranking knights) that English widows had been forcefully married off to foreigners.²⁷ In Normandy, around 1120, Orderic Vitalis described the (late) 1070s as a period of cohabitation of foreigners and natives in burhs and cities around the country, which he says was peaceful — whereas (incidentally) contemporary evidence suggests considerable ethnic tension — and he adds that people intermarried.²⁸ His contemporary in England, William of Malmesbury, c. 1118, is fairly positive when he writes that the Normans 'of all nations are the most hospitable, they treat their strangers with the same respect as each other and they also marry those they have conquered'.²⁹ Both Orderic and William, as we know, were

Cathedral Priory about 1100', *ANS*, 14 (1991), 313–37, and Robin Fleming, 'Christ Church's Sisters and Brothers: An Edition and Discussion of Canterbury Obituary Lists', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethell*, ed. by Marc A. Meyer (London: Hambledon, 1993), pp. 115–53, where on p. 132 the index lists a Matilda, wife of Siward, which might indicate a mixed marriage.

²⁷ *Frutolfs und Ekkehard's Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. by Franz Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), p. 78: 'Qui (sc. Willelmus) mox omnes pene regni eiusdem presules exilio, nobiles vero morti destinavit, mediocre autem suis militibus in servitionem, uxores indigenarum universorum advenis in matrimonium subiugavit' (Soon thereafter he sent almost all the bishops of the kingdom into exile and the nobles to their death; he forced the middle rank soldiers/knights into servitude and the wives of indigenous men into marriage to the newcomers).

²⁸ *OV*, II, 256–57: 'His temporibus opitulante gratia Dei pax in Anglia regnabat et securitas aliquanta procul repulsis latronibus habitatores terrae refouebat. Ciuiliter Angli cum Normannis cohabitabant in burgis, castris et urbibus, conubiis alteri alteros mutuo sibi coniungentes' (At this time by the grace of God peace reigned over England; and a degree of security returned to its inhabitants now that the brigands had been driven off. English and Normans were living peacefully together in boroughs, towns, and cities and were intermarrying with each other). This section could possibly have come from a lost section of William of Poitiers's text. For the urban context with segregated groups living on 'English' and 'French' streets, see Clark, 'Women's Names', pp. 133–34; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 201–06; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 191–93.

²⁹ *GR*, I, 460–61: 'Ceterum omnium gentium benignissimi aduenas aequali secum honore colunt; matrimonia quoque cum subditis iungunt'; translated there as 'For all that, they are of all

themselves the offspring of exogamous unions, and given that this heritage was one of the inspirations, we presume, for their historical studies, their assessment of their parents' unions is distinctly rose-tinted compared with Frutolf's damning report. It is particularly notable that neither Anglo-Norman historian in this context hints at the use of coercion, nor do their remarks suggest that exogamy was widespread. It therefore comes as a surprise when, around a century after the Conquest, in the late 1170s, Richard fitz Nigel, the author of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, refers to intermarriage amongst the free as very common: 'the nations are so mixed that today one can scarcely distinguish who is English and who is Norman'.³⁰ Cecily Clark and others have observed that naming patterns changed significantly in the twelfth century with insular names decreasing. Although female ones do so at a much slower rate.³¹ By the late twelfth century on a large scale insular names therefore would have made place for continental names with a result that names would be even less of a guide to a person's 'nationality' than in the period c. 1100.³² Clearly fitz Nigel's remark cannot be taken as evidence for contemporary exogamy (a union between a foreigner and a native) but should be seen as a part result of the force of cultural assimilation of the English into a Francophone world. His assumption is that past intermarriage was the reason. But how far past and on what scale

nations the most hospitable, they treat their strangers with the same respect as each other; and in marriage too they wed their inferiors.' The verb is *subdo/uere*. In my translation I follow the interpretation of Clark, 'Women's Names', pp. 118–19.

³⁰ *Dialogus de Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer*/Richard FitzNigel, ed. and trans. by Emily Amt, and *Constitutio domus Regis: Disposition of the King's Household*, ed. and trans. by Stephen Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 80–81: 'set iam cohabitantibus Anglicis et Normannis et alterutrum uxores ducentibus uel nubentibus, sic permixte sunt nationes ut uix decerni possit hodie, de liberis loquor, quis Anglicus quis Normannus sit genere' (but now with the English and the Normans living side by side and intermarrying, the two nations are so mixed that today one can scarcely distinguish who is English and who is Norman — among free persons, that is). For context, see also John Hudson, 'Administration, Family and Perceptions of the Past in Late Twelfth-Century England: Richard FitzNigel and the Dialogue of the Exchequer', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Paul Magdalino (London: Hambledon, 1992), pp. 75–98 (pp. 87–88).

³¹ Clark, 'Women's Names', pp. 128–31; see also the collection of her various publications, *Words, Names and History*, ed. by Jackson, esp. no. 16, 'Battle c.1110: An Anthroponymist looks at an Anglo-Norman Town', pp. 221–40, and no. 18, 'Willelmus rex? vel alias Willemus', pp. 280–98.

³² John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), especially pp. 123–44 arguing for a sense of Englishness amongst the population (including those of French descent) from the late 1130s onwards. Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 241–343.

remains unstated. Interestingly, Richard fitz Nigel's contemporary, the historian Walter Map, attributed an active role as matchmaker to Henry I when he wrote: 'This Henry, however, of whom I speak by arranging marriages between them [the old inhabitants of England and the newcomers] for both parties, and by all other means he could contrive, federated the two peoples in firm amity'.³³ In any case, for us modern historians, it is dangerous and misleading to project back these assertions as evidence for the first two post-Conquest generations without making an effort to check the numbers involved.

Now that we have indicated the very modest degree of intermarriage after the Danish and Norman conquests it is time to take a look at the wider issue of sexual relations between conquerors and conquered, which was by no means unproblematic. In both periods of conquest rulers and their advisers reveal anxiety with force and coercion, especially against women. Their concerns, it seems, went beyond that of peacetime lordship and matters of wardship. Widows in particular are singled out. The main author of early eleventh-century royal legislation, Archbishop Wulfstan of York (1002–23) emphasized the vulnerability of widows.³⁴ As early as 1008 he had argued that women ought not be forced into remarriage against their wishes (VI Æthelred 21.1 Old English and 26–26.1 Latin), something he repeated in his *Sermon of the Wolf* in 1014 and reiterated at greater length more strongly eight years later under Cnut, when he wrote several clauses on widows forced to marry (II Cnut 73.2, 74) and on the protection of their property.³⁵ The latter in particular was part of an effort by Cnut to mitigate hardship after the turmoil of the years 1014–20 by issuing royal promises to uphold his subjects' rights.³⁶ The shallowness

³³ Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by Montague Rhodes James, rev. by Christopher N. L. Brooke and Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 436–37: 'Sed hic Henricus de quo nobis sermo, coniugiis hinc inde factis inter eos, aliisque quibuscumque potuit modis, ad firmam populos utrosque federauit concordiam.'

³⁴ His concerns, however, are predicated on the assumption that widows owed strict obedience to their lords; see his *Institutes of Polity*, I Polity 93, 97 (*Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten / Swiss Studies in English, 47 (Bern: Francke, 1959), pp. 136, 137).

³⁵ *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1: A.D. 871–1204, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett, Christopher N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), I, no. 49, pp. 355, 370; *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1: c. 500–1042, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1979), no. 240, p. 930; *Councils and Synods*, I. 1. no. 64, pp. 503, 504 (= *English Historical Documents*, I, no. 50, pp. 465–66).

³⁶ Pauline Stafford, 'The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises', *ASE*, 10 (1982), 173–90 (pp. 180–82).

of such promises, however, is underlined by the case of the English widow who had married a Dane (in Cnut's time as recorded in the *Ramsey Chronicle*) and was powerless when he sold her late husband's hereditary estate at *Athelint* to the Bishop of Peterborough as part of a wager. The husband had settled it on her as her *dos* (dower, the portion of a man's land set aside for his widow's upkeep) but then died without offspring. After her remarriage the new Danish husband, with Cnut's consent, held it by right of his wife. Her anxiety, however, at losing the land as a result of the Dane's wager suggests not only coercion on the part of her new foreign husband but complicity on the part of the King, as the (twelfth-century) story underlines. Cnut agreed to the wager, and thus the alienation of the widow's property, while playing a game of chess, which makes this one of the earliest references to the game in medieval England. Dower and morning gift (a man's gift to his bride) were gradually converging from the tenth century onwards, and kings began to exert pressure on widows, so that they might use their lands to reward their own followers.³⁷ For William the Conqueror's time we have only two examples of English widows being married off to Frenchmen: Richard and Walter of Douai. The few other women involved were, as far as we know, unmarried daughters of wealthy English people: Ealdgyth of Wallingford and the heiresses Gunhild, daughter of King Harold and Edith Swanneshals (a landowner in her own right); Ælfgifu, daughter of Leofwine; and Sigref's daughter who was married off through Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester. How much pressure or coercion was involved to persuade the women to accept foreign husbands is unknown, but as we shall see below, the evasive tactics of Englishwomen suggest that it was not negligible.

The Conquest of 1066 seems to have triggered an additional concern, namely that of force and sexual violence. Initially after the battle of Hastings, probably in 1067, the Norman bishops issued a penitential ordinance, ratified by the papal legate Bishop Eremfrid of Syon. Seemingly applying to all men, clause 10 states that 'those who committed adulteries or rapes or fornications shall do penance as though they had thus sinned in their own country'.³⁸ Note, incidentally, that penance for such wrongdoing in England was expected to be imposed according to

³⁷ Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', pp. 238–39. Cf. Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 386.

³⁸ *Councils and Synods*, I, no. 88, pp. 581–84 (p. 584), clause 10: 'De adulteriis et raptibus et fornicationibus quibusdamcumque acsi in patria sua pecassent penitant.' The translation comes from *The Norman Conquest*, trans. by R. Allen Brown, *Documents of Medieval History*, 5 (London: Arnold, 1984), no. 187, p. 157.

Norman customs. Already at the time there was anxiety that such blanket rule would apply to men of all rank. According to the Conqueror's own biographer, William of Poitiers, the ruler had warned his noblemen to restrain themselves towards their victims because they were all fellow Christians and should not be provoked into rebellions. But his warning about sexual violence was aimed specifically at 'soldiers of middling rank and common ones' against whom, so William of Poitiers maintains, 'women were safe from the violence which passionate men often inflict'.³⁹ Orderic Vitalis, however, disagreed fifty years later when he corrected William of Poitiers's version and complained how 'noble maidens were exposed to the insults of low-born soldiers and lamented their dishonouring by the scum of the earth'.⁴⁰ He even accused Odo of Bayeux and William fitz Osbern of having condoned 'excessive plunder and dirty rape' by their men whose actions they forcefully defended.⁴¹ Nevertheless, both chroniclers are in agreement by implying that Englishwomen had less to fear from high-ranking French nobles than from their followers. If William of Poitiers is right in reporting that in the aftermath of 1066 foreign soldiers were even forbidden consensual sex with (English) prostitutes, it is perhaps no surprise that Englishwomen lived in fear and, in their own way, fought back.⁴²

For the Norman Conquest there is convincing evidence that Englishwomen, who had the means to do so, protected themselves against sexual contact, including marriage, with Frenchmen. Paying the king to remain unattached was one defensive strategy which has been cited, though evidence for it is elusive. Some widows may have done, as Pauline Stafford has suggested by alerting us to single women's names at the end of lists of royal tenants in Domesday Book. Such lists make sense only by assuming that the Conqueror needed the information to know how many widows there were under his protection and thus free to be married off. One such list, concerning thegns' widows from Wiltshire, serves as a good example for the cases of Leofgyth, Ælfhild, Ealdhild, Wenisi's widow, and perhaps Saegifu. The value of their lands was very modest, varying between 3s. and 70s., although that

³⁹ *WP*, pp. 158–59: 'Milites uero mediae nobilitatis atque gregarios, aptissimis edictis coercuit. Tutae erant a ui mulieres, quam saepe amatores inferunt.'

⁴⁰ *OV*, II, 268–69; though Eadmer in the quote below on pp. 253–54 does not make a distinction between high- and low-ranking perpetrators when he discusses post-Conquest violence to women.

⁴¹ *OV*, II, 202–03: 'inmodicas praedas et incestos raptus' (my translation).

⁴² *WP*, pp. 158–59: 'Etiam illa delicta quae fierunt consensus impudicarum, infamiae prohibendae gratia uetabantur.'

of Leofgyth was worth £3 as a result of her own skill as royal gold embroiderer.⁴³ Another tactic was to take refuge with the Church. That Englishwomen (widows and unmarried girls) were offered shelter there is revealed in the famous letter 53 of Archbishop Lanfranc (1070–89) to an unidentified Bishop G.⁴⁴ Responding to the latter's query of what to do with various categories of nuns who were not living according to monastic rules, Lanfranc replied: 'But those who have been neither confessed nor presented at the altar are to be sent away at once without change of status, until their desire to remain in religion is examined more carefully. As to those who — as you tell me — fled to a monastery not for love of the religious life but for fear of the French, if they can prove that this was so by the unambiguous witness of better nuns, let them be granted unrestricted leave to depart. This is the king's policy and our own.'⁴⁵ A well-known case concerns Edith/Matilda, daughter of King Malcolm III of Scotland, who through her mother, Queen Margaret, was a direct descendant of the Wessex royal family. In the late 1080s she was sent with her sister Mary to live with their aunt, Christina (Margaret's sister), first at Romsey and then at Wilton, both royal English nunneries. When in the autumn of 1100 Edith-Matilda's hand was sought by King Henry I, Archbishop Anselm protested on the grounds that Edith had been a nun. Edith/Matilda herself made representations to the contrary during an encounter that was recorded by Anselm's secretary-biographer, Eadmer, through Edith's voice: 'For, when I was quite a young girl and went in fear of the rod of my aunt Christina, whom you knew quite well, she — to preserve me from the lust of the Normans which was rampant and at that time ready to assault any woman's honour — used to put a little black hood on my head

⁴³ DB, I, fol. 74^r; Stafford, 'Women in Domesday Book', pp. 80–81; Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', p. 245 n. 93.

⁴⁴ *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 166–67, who suggest Bishop Gundulf of Rochester (1077–1108) on the grounds of a twelfth-century identification in the only manuscript out of three that expands the initial; see Richard Sharpe, 'King Harold's Daughter', *HSJ*, 19 (2007), 1–27 (p. 15 n. 63). The case for Geoffrey of Coutances as addressee is argued by Marjorie Chibnall, 'La Carrière de Geoffroi de Montbray', in *Les Évêques normands du XI^e siècle*, ed. by Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 1995), pp. 279–93 (p. 293); for his role as justice in England, see pp. 290–91.

⁴⁵ *Letters of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. by Clover and Gibson, pp. 166–67: 'Quae uero nec professa nec oblatæ sunt, ad præsens sic dimittantur, donec uoluntates earum deseruando ordine subtilius exquirantur. Quae uero non amore religionis sed timore Francigenarum sicut uos dictis ad monasterium confugerunt, si hoc firmo meliorum sanctimonialium testimonio probare possunt, libera eis recedendi concedatur potestas. Et hoc est consilium regis et nostrum.'

and, when I threw it off she would often make me smart with a good slapping and most horrible scolding, as well as treating me as being in disgrace.⁴⁶ It seems, therefore, that when on occasion male visitors, some as suitors, arrived at the nunnery Abbess Christina had taken the precaution of pretending that the girl was a nun. After Edith/Matilda's interrogation by Anselm, he sent messengers to Wilton to verify Edith's testimony, and finally at an ecclesiastical council the matter was decided in favour of the projected royal wedding, the highest profile case of inter-marriage in post-Conquest England.

Twenty years after the Conquest what mattered to Anselm, as his correspondence reveals, was less the monastery as shelter for rich laywomen than the monastery as sacred place for contemplation and poverty. That Anselm's suspicion about Edith/Matilda was not entirely ungrounded is clear from an earlier experience in the girl's life, when Anselm in his letter 177 to Bishop Osmund of Salisbury (1078–99) asked him to make sure that she returned to the nunnery in his diocese (presumably Wilton). The occasion of her leaving was probably in 1093 when King William Rufus had emerged as a potential suitor (alluded to in Edith/Matilda's 1100 testimony) which had so inflamed her father, King Malcolm III, that he had taken her away with him.⁴⁷ Edith/Matilda was not alone in occupying Anselm's mind. There was also the royal princess Gunhild, daughter of King Harold and Edith Swanneshals, who had spent some time at Wilton, probably at first in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest and then later briefly in widowhood. After her husband Alan the Red's death in August 1093 she may briefly have returned

⁴⁶ Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 123–24; *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England: Historia Novorum in Anglia*, trans. by Geoffrey Bosanquet (London: Cresset, 1964), p. 127. Richard Sharpe's compelling re-evaluation of Gunhild's case has serious implications for the chronology of the case of Edith-Matilda (Sharpe, 'King Harold's Daughter', pp. 1–27). The classic discussions are Richard W. Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 185–93, and Richard W. Southern, *St Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 262–64; Searle, 'Women and the Legitimization', pp. 166–69; Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), pp. 20–22.

⁴⁷ *Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera omnia*, ed. by Franciscus S. Schmitt, 6 vols (London: Nelson, 1946–61), IV, no. 177, pp. 60–61; *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. by Walter Fröhlich, 3 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990–93), II, 91–92. The only author explicitly to place King William Rufus at Wilton in 1093 is Hermann of Tournai, writing in 1142, in his *Liber de restauratione S. Martini Tornacensi*, c. 15, ed. by Georg Waitz, *MGH Scriptores*, 14 (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), p. 281.

to Wilton before eloping with Alan's brother and namesake Alan the Black.⁴⁸ In two letters, of which the second one is among the most graphic necrophiliac prose ever composed, Anselm (in vain as it turned out) tried to prevent her from leaving the nunnery.⁴⁹

The responses to Anselm's counselling skills alert us to the fact that young women had been offered shelter in monasteries for their own safety as a temporary measure. The Englishwomen, it seems, preferred secular life and marriage to life as a nun even if it meant marriage to a stranger. How bleak exogamy could be is suggested by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, the Flemish hagiographer who lived in England. In his *Liber confortatorius* (c. 1080) he compared a girl's departure from home into a nunnery with the transition a lay girl experienced when she left her parents to join her husband, especially if he was a foreigner. Admittedly, Goscelin is thinking of girls who move abroad and never see their families again — in particular the recent marriage of Adela of Flanders and Cnut IV of Denmark c. 1080 — but the point remains that he contrasts 'the happiness of home' with 'barbarous customs, strange languages, subservience to fierce lords and repugnant laws that go against nature'.⁵⁰ He avoids reference to sexual practices, but the inference seems obvious.

Discussions of Lanfranc's letter have always been based on the premise that he referred to high-status royal nunneries only. There were less than a dozen Benedictine nunneries, all situated south of the Thames, except for one near London (Barking). In fact, Lanfranc's letter speaks of women retreating to a *monasterium* (monastery or secular college) and to *sanctimonialia*, nuns or veiled women of

⁴⁸ This reconstruction of Gunhild's connections with Wilton, consisting of a short early stay in the late 1060s/early 1070s, followed by marriage to Alan Rufus (d. 1093), a possible second short stay at Wilton, and her new (short-lived) union with his brother Alan Niger (d. 1096 x 98), is based on the fresh analysis by Richard Sharpe who rejects the version constructed by Richard Southern (and followed by Searle and others) of marriage alliances of Alan Rufus with first Gunhild and then Edith/Matilda in the summer of 1093 followed shortly afterwards by Gunhild's elopement with Alan the Black; see his 'King Harold's Daughter', pp. 1–27.

⁴⁹ *Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, IV, nos 168–69, pp. 43–50; trans. by Fröhlich, II, 68–74. That Gunhild spent some time at Wilton is proven by her encounter with Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (1062–95), who cured her from an infected eye; see William of Malmesbury, 'Vita Wulfstani', in William of Malmesbury, *Saints Lives*, ed. by Michael Winterbottom and Rodney Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 80–83.

⁵⁰ *The Liber confortatorius of Goscelin of Saint Bertin*, ed. by Charles H. Talbot, in *Analecta Monastica: textes et études sur la vie des moines au moyen âge*, ed. by M. M. Lebreton and others (Rome: Orbis Catholicus, 1955), p. 41; Goscelin of St Bertin, *The Book of Encouragement and Consolation (Liber confortatorius)*, trans. by Monika Otter (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 41–42.

various sorts. This opens the possibility that women took refuge in a wider variety of monastic establishments.⁵¹ For women with land, who did not belong to the wealthiest tier of society and who tried to avoid Frenchmen's advances, their choices were limited to smaller institutions or, indeed, to living in or near the precinct of a male monastery.⁵² The presence of single women (including widows) with Old English names in or near male monasteries, such as Edith, Seitha, Godith, and others at Bury St Edmunds in the 1080s, warrants the question whether some had taken refuge there out of reach of any (foreign) husband or of the king's command.⁵³ Lanfranc's letter refers to 'better nuns' (*meliores sanctimonialia*), the equivalent of the *boni* or *meliores homines* of juries and inquests, reliable witnesses who had to vouch for a woman's intentions upon entry into the monastery.⁵⁴ It would be wrong to understand these 'better nuns' exclusively as a narrow group of professed nuns in Benedictine nunneries, since the category could have been much wider, incorporating vowesses in or near the grounds of male communities.⁵⁵ All in all, the evidence for women taking refuge from sexual violence and forced marriages to foreigners is compelling and raises the important question whether a similar flight from secular life can be detected in England during the Danish occupation.

For the early eleventh century there is no equivalent of Lanfranc's letter, and such evidence as we have is far more circumstantial. Even so, Archbishop Wulfstan's secular law for Cnut (1020/22), discussed above, contains one clause that is significant in the present context. Tucked away between clauses on forced marriages sits clause 73.3: 'and a widow is never to be consecrated too hastily'.⁵⁶ Normally, this clause is seen as an indication that widowed women in their first

⁵¹ Patricia Halpin, 'Women Religious in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *HSJ*, 6 (1994), 97–110, and Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, vol. 1: *The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England*; vol. II: *Female Religious Communities in England, 871–1066* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

⁵² Foot, *Veiled Women*, does not raise the issue of conquest and its consequences for women in religious institutions after the Danish and Norman invasions. There is, however, scope for more research into the rich source material she has collected.

⁵³ *Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, IV, 134–35; V, 359–64. Both letters on religious guidance are addressed to an unknown Robert and a number of religious women, Seit and Edit (Ep. 230), and Seit, Edit, Thydit, Lwerun, Dirgit, and Godit (Ep. 414), all of whom bear Old English names.

⁵⁴ Karin Nehlsen-van Stryk, *Die boni homines des frühen Mittelalters unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der fränkischen Quellen* (Berlin: Duncker und Humboldt, 1981), pp. 252–54, 344–48.

⁵⁵ Foot, *Veiled Women*, I, 172–88.

⁵⁶ *Councils and Synods*, I, no. 64, p. 503.

grief on occasion took up the veil impetuously, but in due course regretted their decision. The placing of the clause, however, in a context of royal measures against the use of forced marriage (which of course the king was party to himself) could easily extend to a scenario that saw widows propelled into monastic life as a means of avoiding remarriage, including (or especially) marriage to a foreigner. Do we read too much into the law, and its date, to suggest that a country under foreign occupation saw an increased incidence of women taking drastic action by withdrawing into monastic establishments of varying kinds in an attempt to avoid (inter)marriage? Significantly, in the same legislation of Cnut, Archbishop Wulfstan expressed concern on the very issue of marriage and foreigners in a manner that requires explanation. Copied from late seventh-century Kentish legislation (Wihtried 4), Cnut II, clause 55, following a series of clauses on marriage, stipulates: 'Foreigners, if they do not regularize their marriages, are to depart from the land with their goods and their sins.'⁵⁷ Are these foreigners Danes who brought over their own women and lived in sin, namely in marriages that were not recognized as Christian unions as interpreted in the seventh century? In 1020–22 it is of course possible that some Danes had come with their own womenfolk — the mercenary Pallig and his wife Gunhild are but one example — and that they were not thought to be properly Christian and that this manifested itself in the nature of their social situation. However, it is at least as likely that the foreigners were Danes who lived together with local Englishwomen in exogamous unions that were not recognized as proper marriages because they were not blessed and perhaps not contracted according to English customs as set out for example in the early eleventh-century marriage tract *Wifmannes bewedding*.⁵⁸

Little is known about the wider family strategies surrounding exogamy during periods of conquest and foreign occupation. One of the difficulties in assessing them is that the whole subject is already tricky enough for peacetime. If increasingly rights of lordship determined the fate of Englishwomen, would they themselves have experienced any difference in treatment by parents whether they were

⁵⁷ *Councils and Synods*, I, no. 64, p. 499.

⁵⁸ *Councils and Synods*, I, no. 58, pp. 427–31. For the suggestion that it was composed in an Anglo-Danish context, see Janet L. Nelson, 'Les Douaires des reines anglo-saxonnes', in *Dots et douaires dans le haut moyen âge*, ed. by François Bougard, Laurent Feller, and Régine Le Jan (Rome: École française de Rome, 2002), pp. 527–33 (p. 529). We might speculate that it was drawn up to resolve issues arising from marriage to foreigners who would not know about English marriage customs. It would explain the setting out of the various stages of a proper marriage proposal and the gifts involved.

told to marry a (known) neighbour or an (unknown) foreigner? In early twelfth-century Huntingdon Christina of Markyate, the daughter of wealthy burghers who had selected for her one Burthred, refused to marry the man chosen by her parents and ran away to a life as a chaste hermit.⁵⁹ The Norman kinswoman of William the Conqueror, Judith, acquiesced in a foreign arranged marriage to Earl Waltheof only to betray him and be complicit in his death a few years later. The silence on the subject by the sons of mixed marriages, such as the monks Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury (to whom we may add Nicholas of Worcester) and the (married) archdeacon Henry of Huntingdon, speaks volumes. All signs are that, in the small number of cases we know of, families acquiesced and accepted intermarriage as a variation of the (endogamous) marriage they knew. Many parents would not have had a choice, and if they did have one they may well have considered that for sons and daughters collaboration with a conqueror was the safest way to secure their future. As for widows, for us to see them as we have done thus far mostly as victims is perhaps to underestimate their powers of adaptation, realism, and scope for agency. Queen Emma herself is a prime example of preferring cooperation with the enemy, by accepting marriage to her late husband's successor Cnut, to a life in retirement (whether in England or in Normandy) where she would miss all the trappings of royal authority to which she was accustomed. Others like her were viewed with considerable cynicism if we believe the testimony of Goscelin of Saint Bertin, who more or less accused remarried English widows of collaboration with conquerors: 'an enemy murders a husband and so merits to be married to the widow. The murdered man is dead and buried, trampled underfoot; the killer is loved more and more and accepted into the widow's embraces.'⁶⁰ For Goscelin, in this passage, the complicity and agency of widows was as much a problem as their supposed vulnerability. Within the framework of the family we should also not forget the wives of soldiers who fought in the invasion armies. Not all soldiers were single in search of new wives. Many were married and either returned to their wives or brought them over. Orderic Vitalis even stressed female agency, citing sexual

⁵⁹ *Vie de Christina de Markyate*, ed. and trans. by Paulette L'Hermite-Leclercq and Anne-Marie Legras, 2 vols, *Sources d'histoire medievale*, 35 (Paris: CNRS, 2007), I, 82–128. Thomas Head, 'The Marriages of Christina of Markyate', in *Christina of Markyate, a Twelfth-Century Holy Woman*, ed. by Samuel Fanous and Henrietta Leyser (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 116–37.

⁶⁰ *Liber confortatorius of Goscelin of Saint Bertin*, ed. by Talbot, p. 40; Goscelin of St Bertin, *Liber confortatorius*, trans. by Otter, p. 40. By the middle of the twelfth century the very theme of a widow marrying her husband's killer was the central plot in Chretien de Troyes's *Yvain*, as John Hudson kindly pointed out to me.

longing of the Norman women who in the aftermath of the battle of Hastings sent word to their husbands in England asking for them to return home, threatening to take new husbands if they stayed overseas. The Conqueror refused these requests on the grounds that he needed the manpower.⁶¹

Ultimately, the overwhelming evidence for endogamy throughout the eleventh century carries more weight than the relatively small number of exogamous marriages. The English and the foreigners preferred marriage amongst themselves, even though after 1066 the French newcomers from Normandy, Brittany, and Flanders married each other on a scale that would not have happened if they had stayed at home. The apparently rare incidence of exogamy may come as a surprise.⁶² It certainly suggests resilience on the part of the English, whose social cohesion was a strong force that did not yield en masse to foreign pressure to marry into French families. Endogamy amongst foreigners and natives may go some way to explain the obvious and well-known fact of the survival of the English language, albeit with many Scandinavian and Romance loanwords, to which in the end after three centuries the French language as an aristocratic language of court and administration had to yield. There remains the odd trace of a minority language spoken only by the Flemish though. It is not generally known amongst non-Dutch speakers that the oldest surviving lines of Middle Dutch have been preserved on the flyleaf of an Ælfric manuscript from Canterbury (or perhaps Rochester) datable around the middle of the eleventh century: 'Hebban olla uogala | nestas hagunnan | hinase hi<c>e>nda thu — | uu<a>unbida<l>g<h>e nu?' ('All the birds have | begun their nests | except for me and you — | what are you waiting for now?'). If, as has recently been suggested, they are a woman's love song, they may be the earliest surviving written testimony of a Flemish woman's love for an Englishman.⁶³

⁶¹ *OV*, II, 218–21, and commentary by Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', p. 248.

⁶² N. Botev, 'Where East Meets West: Ethnic Inter-marriage in the Former Yugoslavia, 1962–1989', *American Sociological Review*, 59 (1994), 461–80, on the enduring endogamy amongst ethnic groups long after the Second World War *contra* to popular perception of widespread exogamy.

⁶³ Peter Dronke, 'Latin and Vernacular Love-lyrics; Rochester and St. Augustine's, Canterbury', *Revue Bénédictine*, 115 (2005), 400–10.

Appendix

A provisional list of eleventh-century cases of intermarriage between the English and the Scandinavians or the French

(English Names in **Bold**, Scandinavian in *Italic*, and French underlined)

1000–1016, Men (1)

1. **Æthelred** king = Emma (d. 1052), daughter of Duke Richard I and Gunnor, 1002 (*ASC* 1002; S 6; PASE Æthelred 32; PASE Emma 2).⁶⁴

1000–1016, Women (2)

1. **Anonymous English woman from Norfolk** = anonymous Frenchman, i.e. Ralph the Staller's father, c. 1010. According to the *ASC* 'D' the father of Ralph 'the Staller' (s.v. below) was English and born in Norfolk, but the name of his son suggests that he was French (*ASC* 'D' 1075; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 61).

2. **Ælfgifu 'of Northampton'** daughter of Ealdorman Aelfhelm = *Cnut* king (*ASC* CD 1035; *ASC* EF 1036; PASE Ælfgifu 1; PASE Aelfhelm 17).

1017–1041, Men (1)

1. **Godwine** (d. 1053) = *Gytha*, the sister of King Cnut's brother-in-law Ulf, 1019 or 1022/23 (*The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. and trans. by Frank Barlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 10–11; PASE Godwine 51; Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', p. 73).

1017–1041, Women (8/9)⁶⁵

1. **Anonymous English woman** widowed in the time before the arrival of the Danes = *Anonymous Dane*, 1016x34 (*Chronicon abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. by

⁶⁴ Where possible I give people their identification label from the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England (PASE) database (<<http://www.pase.ac.uk>>) or use S. John of Worcester under the year 993 in the Danelaw identifies three Danish men — Fræna, Godwine, and Frithugil — mentioned in *ASC* CDEF as 'Danes on their father's side' (JW, II, 442; cf. Keynes, 'Massacre of St. Brice's Day', p. 39 n. 19).

⁶⁵ The total number is eight excluding no. 7 Emma/Ælfgifu, or nine when her name is included.

William Dunn Macray, Rolls Series, 83 (London: Longman, 1886), pp. 135–40 (p. 135); Stafford, ‘Women and the Norman Conquest’, p. 232 n. 44). A widow of an Englishman who died without children married a Dane with the permission of King Cnut. The land in question *Athelint*, the woman’s dower by her English husband, is sold for 50 marks (with the wife’s grudging consent) as a result of a bet by the Dane to Bishop Æthelric of Dorchester (1016x34), who subsequently gave it to Ramsey.

2. **Æfflæd**, daughter of Ealdred of Bamburgh, earl of Northumbria (1019–38) = *Siward* (d. 1055), earl of Northumbria, as his second wife; usually identified with the ‘Siwardus com[es]’ mentioned in the Thorney *Liber Vitae*, fol. 10^r following the entry of his son Waltheof and his wife (Whitelock, ‘Scandinavian Names’, p. 132; Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung*, p. 327, no. 72; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 33; Christopher P. Lewis, ‘Waltheof’, in *ODNB*).

3. **Æthelflæd** held in Buckinghamshire = *Toki*, 1020x50 (S 1464; S 1466; PASE Æthelflæd 24).

4. **Æthelswyth** = *Osgod*; *Liber Vitae* of New Minster, Winchester, *Facsimile*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 28^v, comm. Keynes, p. 97, who tentatively suggests identification with Osgot Clapa (d. 1054; PASE Osgot 4), outlawed in 1046, who placed his wife in Bruges (*ASC s.a.* 1049). If so, their daughter **Gytha** = *Tofi the Proud* in 1042 (JW, II, 532–35).

5. **Ealdgyth** = *Ocea Danus* in Worcestershire; Ealdgyth had land in Gloucestershire; they had a son called Earnsige (*Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. by Thomas Hearne, 2 vols (Oxford, 1723), I, 255–56; Williams, “Cockles Amongst the Wheat”, p. 14, with on p. 21, n. 91 a discussion that ‘Ocea’ represents the Old English byname ‘Ucc(e)a’; his identification as a Dane comes from Hemming).

6. **Edith** = *Thurkil ‘the Tall’*, earl of East Anglia, who was outlawed by King Cnut in November 1021 and took his English wife back with him to Denmark (*ASC CDE*; JW, II, 506–07; Simon Keynes, ‘Cnut’s Earls’, in *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), pp. 43–88 (pp. 54–57)).

7. **Emma/Ælfgifu**, widow of King Æthelred = *Cnut* king, 1017 (*ASC* 1017; PASE Emma 2; PASE Cnut 3).

8. **Leofflæd** = *Thurkil the White*, 1016x35; Leofflæd held land in Herefordshire (S 1462; PASE Leofflæd 4; PASE Thurkil 2; Stafford, ‘Women and the Norman Conquest’, pp. 241–43).

9. **Leofwynn** = *Thurcytel*, before 1038 (S 1527; PASE Leofwynn 4; PASE Thurcytel 10).

1042–1066, Men (4/7)

1. **Ælfweard**, a substantial thegn from Worcestershire = Matilda, Queen Edith's woman (*Hemingi Chartularium*, ed. by Hearne, I, 253 ('Mahtilda'); Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 119; Lewis, 'The French in England', p. 127).

2. **Harold**, son of Godwine and Gytha = (betrothed) Adelide/Adeliza, eldest daughter of William the Conqueror, betrothed to c. 1064/65 (*OV*, II, 136; *WP*, pp. 156–57; *OV* in *GND*, II, 160–61; Eadmer, *HN*, p. 8; PASE Harold 3); earlier Harold had married Edith Swanneshals, while in 1066 he married Ealdgyth, daughter of Earl Ælfgar and Ælfgifu (Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 299–300).

3. **Ralph of Gael** (quarter English/three quarter French), son of Ralph the Staller = Emma, daughter of William fitz Osbern, earl of Norfolk, exiled after 'earls rebellion' in 1075 (*ASC* 'D' 1075; *OV*, II, 226–27, 310–17; Lewis, 'The French in England', pp. 128–29).

4. **Ralph 'the Staller'** (half English/French) = anonymous Breton woman; according to *ASC* 'D', he was English and born in Norfolk. His name suggests a French father, and his mother must have been English; his probable brother had an English name, Godwine. Ralph was active in Brittany in the 1030s where he was known as Ralph the Englishman. He may have been exiled under Cnut but returned after 1042; father of Ralph of Gael (s.v.) (*ASC* 'D' 1075; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 61; Lewis, 'The French in England', pp. 128–29, 143; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 44–45).

5. **Tostig**, son of Godwine and Gytha = Judith, daughter of Count Baldwin IV of Flanders, 1051 (*Life of Edward the Confessor*, pp. 38–39; PASE Tostig 1); c. 1070 Judith (d. 1095) married Welf IV of Bavaria (d. 1101) (Elisabeth van Houts, 'Judith of Flanders', in *ODNB*).

6. **Ulf** = Madselin, before 1066 (*Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. and trans. by Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), no. 39, pp. 94–97 and commentary on pp. 207–12; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 1; Bates, *Regesta*, no. 216, p. 688). Whitelock (p. 209) suggests that the name Madselin is a corruption of a German (male) name (*Mazelin, Macelin, Madzilin*). It could well be Flemish. Ulf was the son of a Lincolnshire landholder Tope and himself a benefactor of Peterborough abbey.

7. **William Malet** (half English/French) = Esilia Crispin. He buried King Harold in 1066 (*WP*, pp. 140–41) and is described by the *Carmen* as half Norman and half English and as a kinsman of King Harold. His wife, Esilia Crispin, is erroneously mentioned as his mother in a mid-twelfth-century family history of the

Crispins (*Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, ed. by Barlow, lines 587–88, pp. 34–35; see also Lewis, ‘The French in England’, pp. 134, 144; Katharine Keats-Rohan, ‘Domesday Book and the Malets: Patrimony and the Private Histories of Public Lives’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 41 (1997), 13–56 (pp. 15, 21)).

1042–1066, Women (3)

1. **Anonymous English woman** = Robert fitz Wimarc, kinsman of King Edward, who according to William of Poitiers was a Norman by birth, i.e. had a Norman father and a mother whose name is linguistically Breton but who could have lived in Normandy (*WP*, pp. 116–17; Lewis, ‘The French in England’, pp. 127, 128, Appendix 143; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 19).

2. **Anonymous English woman** = William Malet’s father; their son William Malet (s.v.), who may have buried King Harold in 1066 (*WP*, pp. 140–41) is said by the *Carmen* to have been half Norman and half English and to have been a kinsman of King Harold (*Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy bishop of Amiens*, ed. and trans. by Frank Barlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), lines 587–88, pp. 34–35; see also Lewis, ‘The French in England’, pp. 134, 144; Keats-Rohan, ‘Domesday Book and the Malets’, p. 15).

3. **Gytha** = Ralph, son of Drogo and Godgifu sister of King Edward (Ann Williams, ‘The King’s Nephew: The Family and Career of Ralph, Earl of Hereford’, in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth, and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 327–43 (p. 333); Stafford, ‘Women and the Norman Conquest’, p. 232, n. 44).

1067–1086, Men (6)

1. **Æthelred of Yalding** = Hawise (DB, I, fols 1^v and 14^r). For Hawise as a second wife, according to late twelfth-century evidence, see *Curia Regis Roll, Richard I–2 John* (London: HMSO, 1922), pp. 158, 220; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 81.

2. **Eadwin earl** (d. 1071) = (betrothed) Adelide/Adeliza, eldest daughter of William the Conqueror, 1068, but he rebelled again in 1071 and was killed by his own men (*OV*, II, 214–16, 256, based on a lost section of *WP*).

3. **Eadwin** (Ædauuinus) = Odelina were commemorated in the *Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 28^v (comm. Keynes, p. 97) together with their sons Edmund, Eadulf, and Ælfwine, who all bear English names. Edwin the huntsman held 2 hides in Kingsclere hundred from the king (DB, I, fol. 50^v; Williams, *The English*

and the Norman Conquest, pp. 116, 201; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part I', p. 119 no. 16, p. 128).

4. **Edward I of Salisbury** (d. at the latest by 1120) = Matilda, later wife of Hasculf de Tony. Edward was a Domesday tenant-in-chief and sheriff in Wiltshire. The couple are entered in the *Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 20^r; ed. by de Gray Birch, p. 30 as *Eduuardus et uxor eius Matildis*. On the basis of circumstantial evidence the marriage was conjectured by Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 105–07, 201; see also (without identification) comm. Keynes, p. 89; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138.

5. **Hereward** = Turfrida of Saint-Omer, 1060s or 1070s; she allegedly retired as a nun to Crowland around the time that Hereward married the widow of Earl 'Dolfin'; see *Gesta Herwardi incliti exulis et militis*, in *Lestoire des Engles solum la translacion maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy and Charles T. Martin, Rolls Series, 91, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1888–89), II, 339–404 at pp. 356, 371, 397 (Turfrida) and p. 397 (widow of earl 'Dolfin'). His second wife is named Alfrued (*Ælfthryth*) by Gaimar (*Geffrei Gaimar 'Estoire des Engleis', History of the English*, ed. and trans. by Ian Short (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), line 5599, p. 302 and commentary on pp. 433–34).

6. **Waltheof earl** (d. 1075) = Judith, daughter of Countess Adelaide of Aumale, half sister of William the Conqueror, c. 1070 (*OV*, II, 262, who calls Waltheof 'potentissimo Anglorum'; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 123). He is usually identified with the 'Waldef comes (et) uxor ei(us)' in Thorney *Liber Vitae*, fol. 10^r; see Whitelock, 'Scandinavian Personal Names', p. 132; Gerchow, *Die Gedenkübelieferung*, p. 327, no. 71.

1067–1086, Women (10)

1. **Anonymous woman**, mother of Orderic Vitalis = Odelarius of Orléans, well before 1075 when Orderic was born, as he was not the eldest son (*OV*, III, 6–9, VI, 552–53; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 118; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 199; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 146).

2. **Anonymous woman**, mother of Gilbert of Sempringham = Jocelin, Norman tenant of Alfred of Lincoln, c. 1083 and certainly before 1089 as Gilbert died in 1189 over the age of one hundred (*The Book of St Gilbert*, ed. and trans. by Raymonde Foreville and Gillian Keir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. xv–xvi, 10–11: 'pater eius [...] Neustrigena natione [...] mater uero Anglica a parentibus fidelibus inferioris tamen conditionis originem trahens', and pp. 124–25; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 146).

3. **Anonymous woman**, mother of Nicholas, prior of Worcester = anonymous Frenchman. Nicholas the prior (c. 1113–24) is said to have been of exalted English descent. Given that Nicholas is a saint's name popular among the Normans, his father (or, far less likely, his grandfather) was probably French-Norman ('Vita Wulfstani', in William of Malmesbury, *Saints Lives*, ed. by Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 132–33).

4. **Anonymous woman** at south Pickenham (Norfolk) = a man of the Breton Wihenoc who was in the service of Ralph of Gael (DB, II, fol. 232^v; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 117; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 198).

5. **Anonymous woman**, Ælfwen the sheriff's widow = Richard. Their son was William Goizenboded, an English byname ('cursed' or 'foretold by a witch') (DB, I, fol. 167^v; Stafford, 'Women and Domesday Book', p. 87; Ann Williams, 'A Vice-comital Family in Pre-conquest Warwickshire', *ANS*, 11 (1988), 279–95 (p. 285); Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 146).

6. **Anonymous woman**, Sigref's daughter = miles of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (1062–95), c. 1062x86 (DB, I, fol. 173^v; Stafford, 'Women and Domesday Book', p. 87; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 198).

7. **Ælfgifu**, daughter and heiress of Leofwine = Geoffrey de la Querche (d. 1093x94), by 1077 (*Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107–1191*, ed. by Diana E. Greenway (London: British Academy, 1972), p. xx; William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. by John Caley and others, 6 vols in 8 (London: Longman, 1817–30), VI. 2, 996, where she is called 'Alueva'; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 121; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 12; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 146, 153).

8. **Eadgifu**, widow of **Hemming** = Walter of Douai, early-ish after 1066; she held Uffculme in Devon in 1066 (DB, I, fol. 111^v: 'Eddeua'); in an 1136 memorandum about Uffculme she is called Eadgythe and identified as widow of Hemming and Walter's wife; see *The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury*, ed. by Aelred Watkin, Somerset Record Society, 59, 63–64 ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1944–49, 1950), I, no. 172, pp. 126–28; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 28 n. 69, p. 39 n. 52; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 146, 153).

9. **Ealdgyth**, daughter of Wigot of Wallingford = Robert D'Oilly, probably from Oilly-le-Basset, west of Falaise and castellan of Oxford, before 1079 and probably even in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest, late 1060s, because they had a daughter Matilda who married Miles Crispin in 1084. Wigot's son Toki died at the battle of Gerberoi in 1079, where he had acted as the Conqueror's squire (*ASC* 'D' 1079; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 121; Williams, 'A Vice-comital Family', pp. 289–90; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, pp.

101–02; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 28; Green, *The Aristocracy*, p. 373; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 146, 149).

10. **Gunhild**, daughter of King Harold and Eadgyth Swanneshals = Alan the Red, lord of Richmond, c. 1075; probable daughter Matilda who subsequently, c. 1090, married Walter D'Aincourt; their son William was fostered at William Rufus's court and was dead by 1100 (lead plaque found at Lincoln); Alan the Red died 4 August 1093; Gunhild was then approached by Alan's brother also called Alan 'the Black' (d. 1096x98); she may have stayed at Wilton unconsecrated 1066 to c. 1072 (*Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, IV, 45–50, epp. 168–69; for reconstruction, see Sharpe, 'King Harold's Daughter', pp. 1–27; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 123).

1087–c. 1110, Men (9)

1. **Eadvvinus de Freondestaple** = Oriald (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 20^r (comm. Keynes, p. 89); Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part I', pp. 114–15, no. 4; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 183).

2. **Godricus** = Sufficia (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 24^v; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138).

3. **Godwin** = Raesia (Rohais), probably not earlier than c. 1110; parents of Ranulph de Bashley, who between 1151 and June 1155 with his wife Edith gave land at Bashley to Christchurch, Twynham, amongst others, for the souls of Godwin his father and Raesia his mother. Bashley in 1086 was a demesne manor of the canons of Twynham (DB, I, fol. 44^r; *Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon, 1090–1217*, ed. by Robert Bearman, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, n.s., 37 ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1994), nos 9, 86, pp. 126–27, 183). I owe this reference to David Crouch.

4. **Godwinus** presbyter = Erenburch (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 20^r (comm. Keynes, p. 89); Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138); I am not persuaded by Moore who identifies this Godwine with a Godwine the priest in 1066 (see his 'Family Entries, Part I', p. 113, no. 1, p. 128; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 183).

5. **Oðin** = Mabilia, c. 1100–20 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 9^v; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 115; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 185).

6. **Ralph**, son of Ansgot = Mahald 'socia eius'; Ralph was a prebendary of Saint Paul's cathedral by 1086, alderman of London (last recorded in 1137), and a member of the London cnihtengild. Odo of Bayeux gave him, probably in 1083, the church of Southwark (DB, I, fol. 32^r). The couple were commemorated with their sons and Ralph's mother 'Leouerun' in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, fols 36^r and 42^r (*Durham Liber Vitae*, ed. by Rollason and Rollason, I, 133 and III, 560, no. E. 292;

Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 140, n. 122; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 199). In the unlikely scenario that Ansgot is a continental and not an insular person, a possibility Clark (*ibid.*) offers, his marriage to Leofrun should be listed above in the section 'English women marrying continental men 1066–86'.

7. **Saeman** = Emma, c. 1090x1115 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 10^r; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 115; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 182).

8. **Siward of Arden**, son of Thorkill of Warwick landholder in 1086 = Cecilia; for the marriage, see the Black Book of Thorney Abbey, Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 3021, fol. 416^r. Cecilia is noted as the mother of their son Hugh in the cartulary of Kenilworth (BL, MS 3650, fols 16^{r-v}). I owe these references to David Crouch. Siward was a youth at the time of his father Thorkill's gifts to Abingdon Abbey before 1087 (*Historiae ecclesie Abbandoniensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, ed. and trans. by John Hudson, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002–07), II, 10–11).

9. **Tierry/Theoderic**, son of Deormann of London = Maud, late 11th c. or early 12th c. (*The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. by David Douglas (London: Royal Historical Society, 1944), pp. 62–63; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 120). Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 206, implies a date of mid-twelfth century by making Tierry/Theodoric, who married Maud, the grandson of Tierry son of Deormann.

1087–c. 1110, Women (34)

1. **Anonymous woman**, mother of Henry of Huntingdon = Nicholas, by c. 1088 when Henry was born; Nicholas was probably related to the Glanvilles from the Calvados (HH, pp. xxvi–xxviii; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 118).

2. **Anonymous woman**, mother of William of Malmesbury = anonymous Frenchman/Norman by mid-1090s when William was probably born; this is the usual interpretation of William's own admission that he was of mixed origins (*GR*, I, 424–25: 'Ego autem quia utriusque gentis sanguine traho' (For my part, having the blood of both nations in my veins); Clark, 'Women's Names', pp. 117–18; for date of birth, see *GR*, II, pp. xxxvii–viii; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 146).

3. **Anonymous woman** = Witso; their son Leofstan was goldsmith in London, later eleventh century (*Chronicon abbatae Ramesiensis*, ed. by Macray, p. 245; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 142).

4. **Anonymous woman**, Algar's daughter = Baldwin of Arras, early 12th c. (Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 141).

5. **Æiliuu** = Egnulfus (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 54^v; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138).

6. **Ælfgyfu** = Radulf (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 28^v; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138).

7. **Aiflada** = Rainulfus, c. 1100x20 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 9^v; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 116; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 186).

8. **Alffwen** = William Pecche, a minor tenant in Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, as his first wife. She was still living in 1088 when both issued a charter to Ramsey (*Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. by William H. Hart and Ponsonby A. Lyons, Rolls Series, 79, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1884–93), I, 121, 123–27; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 121; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 198; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 146).

9. **Alveva** = Ranulf Flambard; Ranulf became Bishop of Durham in 1099, so his connection with Alveva must date from the mid-1090s at the latest. They had several children, and later Ranulf married her to a citizen of Huntingdon (*Vie de Christina de Markyate*, ed. and trans. by L'Hermite-Leclercq and Legras, I, 80–81; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 123; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 199; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 155–56).

10. **Athelasc** = Walter, c. 1100–20 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 9^v; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 115; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 184).

11. **Brihgiva** = Ricardus Palmarius (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 55^r (comm. Keynes, p. 104); Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138).

12. **Coleruna** = Hermannus (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 20^r (comm. Keynes, p. 89); Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part I', p. 114, no. 3, p. 128; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 183, considers 'Coleruna' a continental name).

13. **Cuenelef** = Willelmus, c. 1100x20 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 9^v; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 116; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 185).

14. **Eadgyfu** = Ansketillus (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 55^r; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part I', p. 124, no. 27, p. 128; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 183).

15. **Ealdgida** = Teotselinus (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 29^r (comm. Keynes, pp. 98, 106); Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part I', p. 123, no. 24, p. 128; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 183).

16. **Ealdgyth** = Gotselin (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 29^r; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138).

17. **Edith** = (concubine) Henry I, early 1090s; their daughter Matilda became countess of the Perche; Edith received a pension from Devonshire royal revenues (*Pipe Roll 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130, Reproduced in Facsimile from the Edition*

of 1833, ed. by Joseph Hunter (London: HMSO, 1929), p. 155; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 124; Kathleen Thompson, 'Affairs of State: The Illegitimate Children of Henry I', *JmedH*, 29 (2003), 129–51 (pp. 132, 134); Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 157). It should be noted that Henry had two other English concubines after c. 1110.

18. **Edith/Matilda** (d. 1118) daughter of King Malcolm III (d. 1093, 13 November) and Queen Margaret of Scotland. (1) 1093 August: ? marriage proposal William Rufus (Hermann of Tournai, *Liber de restauratione*, c. 15, p. 281). (2) Late 1090s: marriage proposal from William II Warenne (*OV*, IV, 272). (3) 11 November 1100 = Henry I, king of England (*ASC s.a.* 1100). (Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 123 (Henry I); Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 200 (Henry I); Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 140–43 (Henry I).)

19. **Editha** = Ralph, first lay steward of Bury St Edmunds, before 1098 (Barbara Dodwell, 'Some Charters Relating to the Honour of Bacton', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. by Patricia M. Barnes and Cecil F. Slade (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1962), pp. 147–65 (pp. 149, 160, Appendix no. 5); Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 122).

20. **Estrild** = Morandus, c. 1100x20 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 9^v; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 116; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 186).

21. **Godgive** = Willelmus, c. 1090x1115 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 10^v; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 107, no. 77, p. 116; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 185).

22. **Gunware** = Turstanus de Stanforde 'monitarius', c. 1090x1115 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 10^v); he was active as a moneyer in the time of King Henry I (Clark, 'British Library Additional MS 40,000', p. 309, where he is erroneously dated to the early eleventh century; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 110, no. 82, p. 116; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 185).

23. **Gyde** = Reynoldus (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 29^v; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138).

24. **Hilpet** = Vivianus, c. 1090x1115 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 10^v); identified as Vivian of Churchfield, a minor knightly tenant of Peterborough Abbey where he was later known as 'Vivian the Angevin' (Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 100, no. 62 (1100x40), p. 116; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 185).

25. **Ingrith** = Waerinus (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 29^v; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138).

26. **Leofgifu** = Odo 'miles', early 12th c.; for Leofgifu ('Lifgiua') as a widowed benefactor of Saint Augustine's Canterbury in the time of Abbot Hugh (?1108–26), see *The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury Commonly Called*

the Black Book, ed. by George J. Turner and Herbert E. Salter, 2 vols (London: British Academy-Oxford University Press, 1924), II, 433; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, p. 146.

27. **Mary**, daughter of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret of Scotland = Eustace III of Boulogne, 1102 (JW, II, 102–03); her sister is Edith/Matilda (s.v.)

28. **Muriel**, daughter of Colswein of Lincoln = Robert de la Haye, constable of Lincoln Castle, c. 1100 (CDF, no. 923, pp. 329–30 (1126 charter Henry I confirms gift of Robert and his wife Muriel); James W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), pp. 48–50, 87–88, 95; Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 122; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 107).

29. **Oreguen** = Odo (*Liber Vitae*, ed. by Keynes, fol. 29^r (comm. Keynes, p. 98, proposes identification with Odo of Winchester); Clark, 'Women's Names', p. 138).

30. **Osmoth** = Roger, c. 1090x1115 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 10^r; Whitelock, 'Scandinavian Personal Names', p. 149; Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, p. 328, nos 227–28; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 100, no. 65, p. 115; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 185).

31. **Saegiven** = Rogierius, c. 1090x1115 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 10^v; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 116; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 185).

32. **Sagiva**, widow of Leofmaer = Robert (probably Robert 'the Blond', sheriff of Norfolk) as her second husband. She is known from a charter (c. 1100x18) in which she and her son (by her first husband) Adam of Cockfield give a tithe to Barking for the soul of Edith (daughter and sister respectively) (*EHD*, II, no. 250, p. 925; Cyril Roy Hart, 'An Early Charter of Adam of Cockfield, 1100–1118', *EHR*, 72 (1957), 466–69; Emily Mitchell, 'Patronage and Politics at Barking Abbey' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004), pp. 112–16; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, p. 198, only discusses Adam, not his mother's first husband).

33. **Sifled** = Bernard, 1090x1115 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 9^v; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 115; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 184).

34. **Wulfleda** = Landbertus, c. 1090x1115 (Thorney Abbey *Liber Vitae*, fol. 10^v; Moore, 'Family Entries, Part II', p. 116; Moore, 'Prosopographical Problems', p. 185).

MORE TALES OF THE CONQUEST

Nicholas Vincent

It might be thought that David Bates has little in common with John Horace Round. Whereas Round was the nastiest of polemicists, his clipped moustaches the twitching antennae of his pugnaciousness, David Bates ranks amongst the gentlest of the peacemakers. Nonetheless, despite the differences between these two men, my intention in what follows is to pay tribute to David Bates, at least to begin with, through the medium of J. H. Round. In particular, by following Round into an exploration of thirteenth-century legal records, I hope to reveal the extent to which these records throw light both upon the events of the Norman Conquest and upon more recent perceptions of Conquest and Conqueror. As many have lamented over the years, but as no-one has as yet made good, Round's contribution to the study of Anglo-Norman history has still to be properly assessed.¹ The personal gratitude of Sir Frank Stenton, for whom Round (clad in forbidding frock coat and topper) had masterminded his first paid employment, was accompanied by Stenton's less than wholly positive professional assessment of Round as a historian. In essence, Stenton argued, Round was a miniaturist, impeccable when it came to detail, but incapable of setting out his ideas on any grander scale; driven by personal animus into the Lilliput of polemic, when he would have done better to explore the broader horizons of the Anglo-Norman Brobdingnag.²

For assistance in the writing of this paper, I am indebted to Stephen Church, David Crouch, Hugh Doherty, Paul Hyams, Simon Keynes, Daniel Power, Huw Ridgeway, Richard Sharpe, and (an unwitting) David Bates.

¹ For the fullest account of Round's life, see William Raymond Powell, *John Horace Round: Historian and Gentleman of Essex* (Chelmsford: Essex Record Office Publications, 2001). For a more sophisticated assessment of Round the historian, see the entry by Edmund King in the new *ODNB*.

² Frank M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066–1166*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 1–6. For Round's influence on Stenton, see the extraordinary memoir

Although this has become very much the accepted assessment of Round as scholar, it rather misses the mark. Had it not been for his rootedness and his obsession with the minutiae of place, be it in his own native Essex or in his adopted county of Sussex, it is questionable whether Round would ever have escaped from the woollier bolsters of 'constitutional' history that stifled so many others of the disciples of Bishop Stubbs. Paradoxically, it was his willingness to embrace the local and the particular that enabled Round to fight clear of the constitutional parochialism of the Oxford history syllabus. Had it not been for his sense of persons, or rather of the particularities of bloodlines attached to place (a sense, incidentally, which Stenton himself felt most keenly), it is doubtful whether Round would ever have begun his great unravelling of those 'feudal genealogies' that he traced back, so unerringly and, in his accuracy, so precociously, to their cross-Channel origins. To most English historians of the nineteenth, as indeed of the twentieth, century Normandy remained an abstraction, threatening all of the ennui of Emma Bovary's Rouen with little of the sexual charge. Like the rest of France, moreover, it was cursed with a language, a religious confession, and a series of administrative traditions that rendered its archives impervious to enquiry by decent English gentlemen.³ Round struggled free of these prejudices and, despite an imperishable layer of Francophobia, made the leap into French archives, French geo-politics, and Norman, if not French, history.⁴ There was an adventurousness and a joie de vivre to the younger Round that we overlook in remembering only the bad-tempered valetudinarian of later years. A story told by Sir Osbert Sitwell, not retold in the standard biographies, records that the 'great authority on heraldry and genealogy' (and note that to Sitwell, as to many others, Round was remembered not as a great historian but as a herald and genealogist) visited Sir Osbert's even more eccentric and bad-tempered father in Italy. 'Just before he left', Sitwell tells us, 'he suddenly asked "Are the young people interested in genealogies too?" and then, before there was time to answer him, slid with abandon down the whole length of the banisters.'⁵

by Stenton's widow, Doris M. Stenton, 'Frank Merry Stenton, 1880–1967', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 54 (1968), 348–49.

³ For a notable exception here, Thomas Stapleton (d. 1849), see Nicholas Vincent, *Norman Charters from English Sources: Antiquaries, Archives and the Rediscovery of the Anglo-Norman Past*, Pipe Roll Society (forthcoming).

⁴ See here the wonderful account by Edmund King, 'John Horace Round and the "Calendar of Documents Preserved in France"', *ANS*, 4 (1981), 93–103.

⁵ Osbert Sitwell, *Left Hand Right Hand! The First Volume* (London: Macmillan, 1949), p. 183, dated to Sitwell's eleventh year, thus to some time in 1903 or 1904.

Round, the great Conservative, was, for all his reactionary tub-thumping, one of the most radical exploders of genealogical land mines, blasting great swathes through the cherished myths of the upper classes with his exposure of bogus descents, doctored pedigrees, and corruptible heralds. In all of this, he was not so much a throwback to the days of Collins, Brydges, and Burke, the peerage 'experts' whose lack of 'expertise' he so ruthlessly exposed, but a forerunner of the much more scientific study of prosopography, itself one of the twentieth century's more lasting contributions to the pursuit of medieval history.⁶

What, one might ask, does this have to do with David Bates? There are three principal reasons for regarding Round as Bates's scholarly forefather. Firstly, of course, there is the exploration of Normandy and the willingness to engage with the Normanno-English as opposed to the paler and, some would argue, less substantial Anglo-Norman past. Secondly there is the rootedness in local detail and diplomatic, itself based firmly upon the discovery, exploration, and critical assessment of charters, both in France and in England. Finally, of course, there is the very obvious fact that it was Round's explosive devices, set off in his 1914 review of the first volume of H. W. C. Davis's *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, that first drew attention to the need for a wholly new — one can hardly call it a 'revised' — edition of the charters of William the Conqueror. Reading Round's criticisms, almost a century later, one can only admire the lulling courtesy of the prefatory remarks, the apologies for troubling the readers of so useful a work with a stream of corrections that thereafter fast develops into a raging torrent, with the hapless Davis washed away in the flood.⁷ Reading Round's review in conjunction with that by Charles Homer Haskins, one is struck also by the fact that Haskins wielded the professional butcher's axe from the front, Round the gentleman-assassin's dagger in the back. In respect to Davis's woeful refusal to consult manuscripts in France, it was Haskins who expressed proper outrage, with a remark that can only have been intended to wound not just Davis but Round, drawing attention to the fact that Round, in his *Calendar of Documents in France*, had too often depended upon the transcripts of his documents, preserved in the Public Record Office, rather than working directly in French archives.⁸ Round, by contrast, seems to have

⁶ One of the rare points of agreement between Round and Freeman lay precisely in their mutual scorn for Burke's *Peerage*: John Horace Round, 'The Peerage', in *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, ed. by John Horace Round (Westminster: Constable, 1901), pp. 1–114.

⁷ *EHR*, 29 (1914), 347–56.

⁸ *American Historical Review*, 19 (1914), 594–96 (p. 595): 'The principal defect lies in including a number of charters issued "in and for Normandy" without any exploration of French archives

regarded it as no great failing that his own steps in France should have been left untraced: such a redoubling of effort, he seems to have assumed, was unnecessary given the perfection of his own *Calendar*. Perhaps the best judgement on Davis's use of French sources was that delivered by the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, the leading journal in the field of charters and diplomatic. So unpardonable were Davis's sins judged to be, both of omission and commission, that the journal afforded him no review whatsoever. From a member of the École, the only contemporary reference to Davis's *Regesta* occurred in 1916, when Charles Bémont referred, merely in passing and as part of a review of Léopold Delisle's much more considerable edition of the charters of King Henry II, to the fact that 'Les Anglais ont commencé les Regestes des rois anglo-normands'. Quite how awful this commencement had been, in the circumstances of 1916 and with the guns still booming on the Somme, Bémont refrained from specifying.⁹

Meanwhile, we enter our first great caveat against Round the scholar: the way in which, as a consummate games-player (he coxed the Balliol eight, and the office of coxwain has forever provided an opportunity for the small and aggressive to bully the strong and the tall), he regarded his own work as a finished and perfected article, to be defended against all besmirchers, rather than as an experiment in the truth that would be improved rather than slighted by the criticisms and corrections of his colleagues.¹⁰ Round, of course, had no colleagues, at least in the sense that, unattached to any university and being possessed of independent financial means, he was in no way required to observe the common decencies (some might term them the oligarchic backscratching) of professional life. Round was that most dangerous of creatures in the scholarly menagerie: a perfectionist in his criticism of others, convinced that critics who trespassed against his own work, being by definition poachers and fools, were best seen off the premises with strong language and a loaded gun.

and libraries. [...] Thus if Mr Davis, or Mr Round before him, had ever seen the cartulary of Rouen cathedral or the text printed from the original in the "Histoire de la Maison d'Harcourt" (III.34), he could have assigned to no.384 its exact date of 1095.' The reference is to *CDF*, no. 2, there dated '15 August 1088 x 1096'.

⁹ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 77 (1916), 342–43n.

¹⁰ It was in this spirit that Round was led into one of his more inglorious episodes, taking on and being entirely trounced by Léopold Delisle, who had dared to criticize various of the entries in Round's own *Calendar*. See here Nicholas Vincent, 'Léopold Delisle, l'Angleterre et le "Recueil des actes de Henri II"', in *Léopold Delisle*, ed. by Françoise Viellard and Gilles Désiré dit Gosset (Saint-Lô: AD de la Manche, 2007), pp. 231–57 (pp. 238–40, 256–57).

There was one other great failing to Round's scholarship, from which I hope to build the remainder of this essay. For all the precocity and deep learning of his pursuit of feudal genealogy, Round's interest in charters was too often confined to their potential as material for a stock book delineating pedigree. Like a horse copier or a Tattersalls' auctioneer, his interest ended once the pedigree had been properly authenticated and the bloodstock priced and sold. Let me cite a specific example. It comes from an essay that Round wrote in 1910 on 'Tales of the Conquest', a typical piece of Roundian pugnaciousness, not least for the splendid irrelevance with which an article, beginning as a pursuit of Anglo-Norman genealogies recorded in thirteenth-century and later evidences, almost all of them faked, fast develops into a diatribe against one particular contemporary, in this instance the unfortunate Mr Louis Napoleon Parker, organizer of historical pageants in which the supposed claims to Norman descent of various English families were paraded to the general entertainment of the public but to Round's particular disgust.¹¹ Round begins his essay with a discovery of no small significance that he himself had made amongst the Additional Charters of the British Museum: a deposition setting out, as a single-sheet schedule, perhaps once attached to a mid-thirteenth-century plea roll, an account of the descent of the manor of Fawley in Buckinghamshire.¹² In an appendix, I have re-edited this document, highlighting in italics

¹¹ John Horace Round, 'Tales of the Conquest', in *Peerage and Pedigree: Studies in Peerage Law and Family History*, ed. by John Horace Round, 2 vols (London: Nisbet, 1910), I, 284–323. For Parker (1852–1944), and his rise from Sherborne music master to an extraordinarily successful theatrical career, see R. C. K. Ensor's entry in the *ODNB*.

¹² BL, Additional Charter 27143. Printed by Round, 'Tales of the Conquest', pp. 285–86, with some but not all of the words omitted by Round printed by Daniel Power, 'The French Interests of the Marshal Earls of Striguil and Pembroke, 1189–1234', *ANS*, 25 (2002), 199–225 (p. 220 n. 133). Round's abbreviated version supplies the basis of the English translation by Charles James Phillips, *History of the Sackville Family*, 2 vols (London: Cassell, 1930), I, 5, although Phillips (I, 4, 6) confusingly cites as his source both Round's article and the 'Testa de Nevill [...] written about 1325', with a footnote reference to *Testa de Nevill sive Liber feodorum*, ed. by John Caley and William Illingworth (London: Record Commission, 1807), p. 247, in reality no more than the brief listing, from the survey of 1242, of Bartholomew's single fee at Fawley. The manuscript (Additional Charter 27143) entered the British Museum in 1882 in company with an extensive collection of Fawley muniments including court rolls from 1362 to 1478 (now BL, Additional Charters 27019–40, 27042, 27044–46, 27048–49, 27145–54, 27157–65), rentals (BL, Additional Charters 27144, 27156), account/comptus rolls from 1406 to 1426 (BL, Additional Charters 27041, 27043, 27047, 27155), and a view of frankpledge from 1444 (BL, Additional Charter 27157), for all of which, see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLXXXII–MDCCCLXXXVII* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1889), pp.

those passages which Round could not read or chose not to rehearse in his article of 1910, where, at the end, the final hundred words are replaced with a most unrevealing 'etc'. Readers who wish to follow my own arguments from here onwards are strongly advised first to read through the Latin text from which these arguments will flow.

Round's interest lay in establishing that a great deal of the detail here could be corroborated from reliable primary sources. He thus traced the descent of the Sackville family to Sauqueville in Normandy (Seine-Maritime, cant. Offranville). He suggested that the surname of the English predecessor of the Sackvilles in Fawley, 'la Wode', was best translated as 'the crazy', and that just as the 'Esbrandus' of the plea could be identified with the Herbrand who held Fawley in Domesday Book, so Elviva la Wode could be identified as mother of the 'Seric son of Aelfeva' ('Seric Alueue filius') recorded in Domesday, predecessor TRE of Walter Giffard in the manor of Long Crendon.¹³ This Herbrand de Sackville, so Orderic Vitalis informs us, had three sons, one of whom was indeed named Jordan, and in 1166 we find a William de Sackville — according to our account Jordan's son — holding a single knight's fee of the Giffard honour, undoubtedly to be identified as Fawley.¹⁴ Two

297–98. All of these records were perhaps released into the public domain as the result of the sale of the manor in 1853 to the Mackenzie family, only the second sale in the manor's history since the death of the last in the male line of the Sackville family c. 1477: *VCH Buckinghamshire*, III, 39–40.

¹³ See here Lewis C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, Harleian Society, 103 (Leeds: Harleian Society, 1951), p. 88; DB, I, fol. 147a (Phillimore *Domesday: Buckinghamshire*, 14.5). The same man or other Seric(s), without matronymic, but on occasion described as Seric 'Earl Leofwin's man', Seric 'Queen Edith's man', or Seric 'Sired's man', occur as Domesday antecessor in several other Buckinghamshire manors, including Lathbury, Gayhurst, Lillingstone (within the Giffard honour), and Little Missenden. Another Seric still held land at Marston from Milo Crispin in 1086.

¹⁴ William Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, 3 vols (London: Spottiswode, 1923–25), I, 210–13; *OV*, VI, 8, III, 256–57, 367; *Chartes du prieuré de Longueville*, ed. by Paul Le Cacheux, Société de l'Histoire de Normandie (Rouen: Lestringant, 1934), pp. 12–13 no. 10, pp. 51–52 no. 41; *Historia Ecclesie Abendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, ed. by John Hudson, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002–07), II, 126–27 (*RRAN*, II, no. 974); *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. by Hubert Hall, Rolls Series, 99, 3 vols (London: Longman Green, 1896), I, 312, and for the identity between this single fee and Fawley, see *Liber feodorum: The Book of Fees Commonly Called Testa de Nevill*, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1920–31), I, 464, II, 880. Phillips's *History of the Sackville Family*, dealing principally with a Sussex branch of the family later recognized as earls of Dorset, is unreliable in point of detail, most of all in respect to the early family tree (I, facing p. 46); and cf. the equally unreliable s. xviii pedigree in BL, MS Additional 14844a, which suggests descent from Herbrand to Jordan and Robert his sons, and from Robert to Jordan

years earlier, in 1164, following the death of Walter Giffard II, the Giffard honour was indeed, as our record alleges, brought into crown custody, pending its eventual division between claimants. Half was awarded to William Marshal, together with a Giffard heiress, in 1189.¹⁵ What Round did not attempt to do was to place this story in any sort of legal, cultural, or historical context, let alone address its thirteenth-century setting, save for noticing that Jordan de Sackville, father of the Bartholomew de Sackville of the 1230s, appeared in the *History of William Marshal* as a Marshal dependent.¹⁶ Meanwhile, the very interesting details our document preserves of disputes within the affinity of the Marshal family were left entirely unnoticed, until Daniel Power published them in 2003. As Power in the process revealed, the document supplies precious evidence of the continuing Norman interests of Richard Marshal, Anglo-Norman earl of Pembroke from 1231 to 1234. Jordan de Sackville, Power demonstrated, was indeed a member of Richard Marshal's affinity, despite the events of 1204 and the theoretical separation of Norman and English estates holding land both in England and in the Pays de Bray.¹⁷ He was dead by 1234, his death, as our record suggests, coinciding closely with that of his one-time lord, Richard Marshal. By March 1235, Bartholomew de Sackville, his son, was appearing as a witness to royal charters, proof that he was

de Sackville, founder of Bayham Abbey, for whom see Howard M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 109–11. BL, Additional MS 14291, fol. 66', a transcript from a lost charter then in the Sackville archive at Knole Park in Kent, by which Ralph de Dene c. 1170 granted Jordan de Sackville and Ela his wife, Ralph's daughter, land at Waldron and Chalvington in Sussex and at 'Geyle' (unidentified) in Normandy.

¹⁵ David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147–1219*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 2002), p. 71.

¹⁶ *History of William Marshal*, ed. by Anthony J. Holden and David Crouch, trans. by Stewart Gregory, 3 vols, Anglo-Norman Text Society, Occasional Publication Series, 4–6 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2002–07), II, lines 13464, 13639, 13961–64, 14326, 14455; Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp. 107, 109–10, 113, 138, 148–49, 151, 172–73, 219.

¹⁷ Power, 'French Interests of the Marshal Earls', pp. 219–20. For this Jordan as son of William de Sackville, presumably of the William recorded in our record as living in 1164, see *Calendar of the Roll of the Justices on Eyre 1227*, ed. by John Gilbert Jenkins, Buckinghamshire Record Society, 6 (Bedford: Printed for the Records Branch of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 1945), p. 36 no. 409; Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime 24HP45 and 24HP75; *Norman Charters*, ed. by Vincent, nos 27a–28, incidentally revealing that Jordan de Sackville of Fawley (fl. 1202), married to a woman named Clementia (cf. below, note 21), made an abortive attempt to award the church of Fawley to the collegiate church of Sauqueville in Normandy, and possessed considerable estates at Helmingham and Marlesford in Suffolk.

already of age.¹⁸ Power dated the document recording Bartholomew de Sackville's claims *c.* 1235. To be precise, we should look to a date after Bartholomew de Sackville's succession to his father, but apparently before the death of the last of the Marshal earls, Walter Marshal, in 1245.

Our document is worded in a peculiar way, not quite as a record of pleadings in the king's court, not as a record of a court's decision, and not with the formal address that we might expect from a petition. Assuming nonetheless that a court or individual is being or has been addressed, then it must surely be the court of the Marshal earl of Pembroke, or the Marshal himself, rather than the King or the royal court. The references to a case made 'before his lord' ('Ostendit domino suo') and to the measures taken to ensure the 'peace of the lord earl' ('pax domini

¹⁸ Jordan was still living in 1230, when he was expected to attend the King's expedition to France: *Patent Rolls* (London: HMSO, 1901–03), II: 1225–32, p. 362. He had been succeeded before December 1234 by his son Bartholomew, who received timber from the King to make a chamber for himself at his house in Fawley: *Close Rolls*, 15 vols (London: HMSO, 1902–75), 1234–7, p. 24; For Bartholomew, witness to charters of Henry III issued at various locations in March–April 1235 and again in January 1236, see *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III (1226–1272) from the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office*, ed. by Marc Morris, List and Index Society, 291–92, 2 vols (Kew: Public Record Office, 2001), I, 143–44; *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ed. by Herbert Edward Salter, Oxford Historical Society, 89–91, 97–98, 101, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1929–36), IV, 40–41 no. 27; BL, Additional Charter 15695. Jordan father of Bartholomew is not the same man as the Jordan de Sackville who held land of the honor of Eye in Suffolk and the honour of L'Aigle in Sussex, dead by February 1233 when his heir was given into the custody of Ralph fitz Nicholas, the royal steward: *Close Rolls*, 1231–4, pp. 192–93; *Close Rolls*, 1234–7, p. 19. Unlike the Jordan son of William of Fawley, the Suffolk Jordan seems to have been the son of a man named Robert, or more likely Geoffrey de Sackville: *Curia regis Rolls*, 17 vols (London: HMSO, 1923–99), XIV, no. 1100; Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, I, 210–13. Bartholomew de Sackville of Fawley was already of age by 1235–36, whereas the heir of the other Jordan de Sackville was still a minor in the custody of Ralph fitz Nicholas as late as 1247: *Book of Fees*, I, 464, II, 1394. For Bartholomew de Sackville of Fawley, still living in October 1247, in 1242 assuming responsibility for £25 of Jewish debts in Norfolk and Suffolk previously owed by Jordan de Sackville, and for Aubrey his wife, living in 1246, see The National Archives (formerly Public Record Office) E 372/85 (Pipe Roll 25 Henry III) m.10; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Third, A.D. 1241–1242*, ed. by Henry Lewin Cannon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918), p. 202; *Close Rolls*, 1242–7, pp. 347, 479; TNA JUST 1/56 (Buckinghamshire eyre roll 1247) m. 7d (8d). Aubrey can be identified as a niece of another Marshal retainer, Richard Siward, and had been granted in marriage to Bartholomew de Sackville by Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke (1234x41) together with a moiety of the manor of Upper Clatford Hants., henceforth known as the manor of Sackville's Court: BL, Additional MS 14291, fol. 69^v, a copy by John Anstis *c.* 1730 of a charter then belonging to Richard Saint-George, and cf. *VCH Hampshire*, IV, 360, 363.

comitis') are highly suggestive here, as indeed is the flattery extended towards the memory of Richard Marshal (d. 1234), 'that strong man of good memory', and above all of William Marshal I (d. 1219), 'the illustrious man of holy memory', 'indeed the very best lord and good man', whose wife is here set down as 'mother of the lord Marshal', yet another indication that we are in a period before the death of the last of William Marshal's sons, and hence before 1245. This makes our source all the more valuable, since records of pleadings in seigneurial courts are extremely rare. As a diplomatic rarity, our document advances in significance. Its historical credentials, by contrast, recede. As a report of events in the eleventh, as opposed to the thirteenth, century we must surely question its reliability: something which Round was untypically loath to do.

Undoubtedly, our document gives us insights into thirteenth-century attitudes to the Conquest of 1066. To those of us by now perhaps over-familiar with the study of memory as a historical phenomenon, it is obvious that the preservation here of a list of ancestors stretching back nearly two hundred years is not only significant but most unusual. In general, family memory, as recorded in thirteenth-century plea rolls, was capable of reaching back two or three generations, to a grandfather and perhaps to a great-grandfather, but very rarely beyond that. In terms of thirteenth-century legal record, the detail with which our document refers to events of the 1060s is not just unusual but unique. Some modern historians might be inclined here to postulate the influence of a Sackville family chronicle, now lost. Others, more sceptical, might suggest that Bartholomew de Sackville and his advisers here proved their considerable skills as story-tellers, blending fact and fiction, various of their 'facts' perhaps being derived from Domesday rather than being recorded in independent agreement with it.

We might note, to begin with, that there is a remarkable omission from the document's references to the Conquest of 1066. The conquest, indeed, is not 'a conquest' at all, but the '*perquisitionem Anglie*', a phrase ('the acquisition of England' perhaps comes closest) that is repeated in the ablative-absolute of the following sentence, '*perquisita autem Anglia*'. If not quite a 'liberation', a '*perquisitionem*' is very far from being a 'conquest'. Like a '*perquisite*', it may be something owed by right, rather than something obtainable only by force. Within our document, the term is employed twice more, to describe the lands which Walter Giffard acquired ('*perquisierat*') in England and, later on, to describe the justified persuasion ('*perquisitionem*') with which Alan of Hyde, in the 1220s, obtained the restoration of the Marshal liberties. In contemporary legal parlance, the description here of the Conquest of 1066 as a '*perquisitio*' is almost but not quite unique. An inquest of the early 1250s, describing the descent of the office of hereditary forester

within Cannock Chase in Staffordshire, refers to the time when King William I 'acquired' England ('quando perquisiuit Anglia'), although descent is thereafter traced from King William the Bastard 'the first conqueror' ('de primo conquestore Willelmo Bastardo').¹⁹

Far from being a rapacious Norman land-grabber feasting upon the humiliation of the English, Esbrandus/Herbrand, the Sackville ancestor, not only participated in an 'acquisition' rather than a 'conquest', but is here said to have spent the period of the battle of Hastings and its aftermath in Normandy, capturing and imprisoning those who had unjustly demanded customs from the lands of his lord, Walter Giffard. These miscreants are specifically said to have included the constable of Arques. Arques, of course, had entered Anglo-Norman history as a hotbed of rebellion against Duke William in the 1050s. It was the last fortress in Normandy to have been held against the Plantagenets, by satellites of King Stephen in the 1140s. Half a century later, in 1194, it had been held by the rebel Count John against the forces of his brother, Richard the Lionheart, whilst John's failure to relieve its siege, in 1204, had symbolized the collapse of Plantagenet rule in Normandy.²⁰ More recently still, Arques had fallen into the hands of John de Rouvray, turncoat knight of the Sackvilles' own Pays de Bray and under Philip Augustus, from 1204 through to the mid-1220s, 'the most powerful man in Normandy north of the Seine'.²¹ What the audience of Bartholomew de Sackville's plea was being shown, in other

¹⁹ *Book of Fees*, II, 1275, 1277.

²⁰ *GND*, II, 102–05; Robert of Torigny, 'Chronicle', in Howlett, *CRSHR*, IV, 149–50; Howden, *Chronica*, III, 236; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, Rolls Series, 66 (London: Longman, Green, 1875), pp. 145–46.

²¹ Daniel J. Power, 'Between the Angevin and the Capetian Courts: John de Rouvray and the Knights of the Pays de Bray, 1180–1225', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 361–84; Daniel J. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 278. As husband of Joan de Auffay, herself widow of William Martel, John de Rouvray was not so distantly related to the Sackville/Sauqueville family; cf. *OV*, III, 367. Jordan's wife, Clementia 'de Gerney', was a daughter and co-heiress of William de Chesney of Norfolk, from whose estate she and Jordan as her husband acquired land in Hoe, Horsford (Norfolk), Marlesford, and Helmingham and service in Kenton (Suffolk): TNA CP25/1/282/8 no. 1; Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, III, 317–18. The name 'de Gerney' attributed to her probably represents a corruption of 'Chesney' rather than implying kinship to the powerful Gournay family or to Hugh III de Gournay who had deserted King John at a critical moment in 1203: *Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy, 2 vols (London: Record Commission, 1833–44), I, 202b, and for Hugh and his rebellion, see Power, *Norman Frontier*, pp. 427–28, 504–05.

words, was that, like his Sackville heirs in respect to the Marshal family, Esbrandus/Herbrand, gaoler of the constable of Arques and hence chief hammer of traitors, was entirely to be trusted in his loyalty to his lord, being truly 'a prudent and faithful man' ('vir prudens erat et fidelis'). Indeed, so reliable was he that he obtained the keeping and disposal of all of his lord's estates, first in Normandy and then in England. If the name of Elviva 'la Wode' is rightly to be translated as 'Elviva the mad', then even the Englishwoman whom the Normans are said to have dispossessed at Fawley was patently in no fit state to hold onto her lands. No wonder that, when summoned by his lord, and anticipating Louis Blériot by more than eight hundred years, Esbrandus/Herbrand 'flew' into England: the particular choice of verb here — 'aduolauit', a classical rather than a biblical word — emphasizing the speed and extent of his obedience.

Esbrandus/Herbrand and his Sackville successors are the heroes of this piece. The villain, who emerges in the second part of the report, is Fawkes de Bréauté. It was a 'false assize' ('falsam assisam') brought by Fawkes against the younger William Marshal that, according to our document, deprived the Marshals and their Sackville tenants of their liberties. Once again, there is a contemporary, thirteenth-century context to these remarks. Fawkes himself was, by the 1230s, a notorious criminal, pilloried as a Norman adventurer sprung from semi-servile origins. His retention, despite demands for their restitution by William Marshal the younger, of a valuable collection of manors (albeit in Bedfordshire and Kent rather than in Buckinghamshire or the Giffard fee), was a well-known story by the 1230s: precisely the sort of theme that anyone who wanted the sympathy of the Marshal family, or support from the Marshal court, might have been inclined to emphasize.²² The Sackvilles, like the Marshals and like Fawkes de Bréauté's ancestors, were still a distinctly Norman family. Perhaps as a direct result of his being a Marshal tenant, as Daniel Power has shown, Jordan de Sackville had managed to retain his lands on both sides of the Channel after 1204, a permanent division only being forced after Jordan's death in the early 1230s, at much the same time that our

²² For the dispute between Fawkes and the younger Marshal, particularly over the manors of Luton in Bedfordshire and of Brabourne, Sutton, and Kemsing in Kent, which the younger Marshal claimed had been obtained by Fawkes through the use of forged charters, see David A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1990), pp. 164–65, 203, 293–94, 354. The Dunstable annalist, by contrast, and although no friend of Fawkes's, alleges that Luton had indeed been given by the Marshal to Fawkes, in an act of 'stupid prodigality': *Annales monastici*, ed. by Henry R. Luard, Rolls Series, 36, 5 vols (London: Longman Green, 1864–69), III, 92 ('stulta prodigalitate').

record was being compiled.²³ In 1204, his English lands, including Fawley, had been confiscated by the crown, as the estates of a Norman reputed to have stayed behind in Normandy following the Capetian conquest. They had only been restored, perhaps not until 1208 or even later, through the good will of William Marshal.²⁴ The Sackville lands, in the Pays de Bray, lay relatively close to the ancestral home of Fawkes, at Bréauté in the Pays de Caux, south of Fécamp, and Jordan de Sackville and Fawkes de Bréauté had served together, in 1218, as royal justices in eyre for Essex and East Anglia.²⁵ This no doubt explains why the author of our record deals so delicately with the question of the Normans in general and with the Norman Conquest in particular, presented here as a process of rightful acquisition and of just reward, rather than as an act of violent banditry. Fawkes is set down as a criminal and pilloried for his (perhaps punning) 'falsity', but his Norman or alien background, the feature of his career that was most often attacked by English chroniclers, is suppressed, perhaps deliberately. Bartholomew de Sackville was, after all, the son of a Norman addressing a distinctly Anglo-Norman lord, the Marshal earl of Pembroke. In these circumstances, it was advisable for Bartholomew to avoid any crudely anti-Norman rhetoric and even to transform the Conquest of 1066 into a mere 'acquisition'.

When rewarded for his loyalty with an offer of manors in England, Esbrandus/Herbrand, the Sackville ancestor, is said to have chosen the manor of Fawley (and note here the tacit assumption that, in 1066, England was already manorialized), rejecting the neighbouring manor of Long Crendon on the grounds that Fawley was the more handsome of the two ('pro pulcritudine loci'). Fawley does indeed command splendid views across the valley of the Thames (for which reason, in the late twentieth century, it was home to the artist John Piper), but we might still marvel at the forbearance that led Esbrandus/Herbrand to pass up the opportunity

²³ Power, 'French Interests of the Marshal Earls', p. 220.

²⁴ *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1835), p. 131 (where Fawley is valued at £20). The Jordan de Sackville who occurs as a pledge for William Paine in a Lincolnshire fine of 1205 is not necessarily the same as the Jordan de Sackville of Fawley, whose lands were in March 1208 restored to William Marshal, having previously been in the custody of the crown: *Rotuli de oblatiis et finium*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1835), p. 247; *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum*, ed. by Hardy, I, 106b. The assumption must be that it was via the elder William Marshal, rather than directly via the King, that Jordan won back possession of Fawley.

²⁵ *Patent Rolls*, I: 1216–25, p. 208; David Crook, *Records of the General Eyre* (London: HMSO, 1982), pp. 74–75.

of acquiring Long Crendon, in Domesday assessed as twenty hides valued at £20 (£15 when acquired and TRE), in order to obtain Fawley, ten hides valued at less than a third as much, a mere £6 (£5 when acquired, £6 TRE).²⁶ Fawley was worth less than a third the value of Long Crendon. Are we dealing here with a question of eleventh-century aesthetics, with a taste for scenic beauty worthy of Thomas Gray or Wordsworth? Or is our evidence once again a fascinating blend of fact and fiction, warped by the author's awareness that all of those reading or listening to his story in the thirteenth century would have known that Long Crendon was the *caput* of the Giffard honour in England? What our document seeks to imply, surely, is that Esbrandus/Herbrand was a great man and that, as a result, his heirs were all the more entitled to proper consideration. Not only had he refused the most valuable of the Giffard manors, now amongst the most valuable of the Marshal estates, but like his heirs, he was entirely faithful to his lords.

What we have is thus not merely, or principally, a record of events of the eleventh century, but a document targeted at a much later posterity. Note, for example, the praise tacitly extended to Alan of Hyde, at whose prompting the King had restored to the younger William Marshal the liberty of his fees (itself a rather peculiar concept), as opposed to the calumny of those 'others' who had libelled ('peiorauerant') Jordan de Sackville before the Earl 'in respect to an account that was demanded from him', thereby dissuading Jordan from daring ('nichil ausus erat dicere') to press his claim to his own liberty within the manor of Fawley. There is an implied courtesy here, in Jordan's refusing to dare, just as there is an implied alliance with Alan of Hyde, himself one of the leading members of the entourage of the younger William Marshal.²⁷ There is also an entire history, the disputed

²⁶ DB, I, fol. 147a, where the two manors appear consecutively, Fawley before Crendon.

²⁷ For Alan of Hyde (native to Hyde in Bedfordshire), d. c. 1242, tenant of William Marshal the younger at Chalton (in Toddington, Bedfordshire), in the manor of Luton disputed between the Marshal and Fawkes de Bréauté, and at Trumpington (Cambridgeshire), a benefactor of Dunstable Priory to whose confraternity he was admitted in 1240, see *Curia regis Rolls*, x, 348, xi, nos 1137, 1786, xii, nos 65, 377, 873, xiv, no. 1248, xviii, nos 326, 443; William Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 221–23; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1903–27), I: 1226–57, p. 79; *Annales monastici*, ed. by Luard, III, 154, 157, 187, 207. Alan was the seneschal of William Marshal the younger for his part of the Giffard honor before 1224 (TNA, E159/6, m. 10d) and as late as April 1227 (TNA, E368/9, m. 7d). He was succeeded in office under Earl Gilbert Marshal after 1231 by Roger de la Hyde (TNA, E159/20, m. 21), who died c. 1243 (TNA, E159/21, m. 18d). See also for Alan as seneschal at Caversham under William Marshal the younger, BL, Additional Charter 19616.

account, left untold.²⁸ These features again speak loudly of a thirteenth-century context. There are further oddities to our record. Leaving aside the potential anachronism of supposing that view of frankpledge was a right to which the Giffard tenants at Fawley had been entitled since the time of the Norman Conquest, we have the peculiar chronology in which 'after the war' and called upon as a part of some more general demand to prove his rights or lose them, William Marshal demanded and obtained from King John the restoration of the liberty of his outlying fees, whereafter Jordan de Sackville obtained from the Marshal the right to view of frankpledge at Fawley for three or more years until Fawkes de Bréauté's assault upon the liberties of William Marshal the younger.²⁹ If this 'war' is the civil war of 1215–17, then in its aftermath, King John was dead and in no position to restore liberties. That there was dispute over the Giffard fees after 1217 is nonetheless proved by a royal mandate of May 1221, commanding the sheriff of Buckinghamshire to cease demanding suit of county and hundred courts or view of frankpledge or sheriff's tourn from the younger William Marshal and his men 'of the honour of Giffard', until a decision had been reached before the King.³⁰

In the standard modern accounts, there is no suggestion that anything was withheld from that moiety of the Giffard honour granted to William Marshal in 1189 by King Richard I, confirmed by charter of King John in 1200. In these charters, William was specifically awarded 'the privileges of an elder heir' ('esnechia') and the *caput* of the honour in Normandy, together with a moiety of the honour in England including its fees, men, and all appurtenances, followed in August 1200 by a specific grant of the patronage of the Giffard abbey at Notley in Crendon.³¹ When

²⁸ Jordan de Sackville held extensive interests under the Marshals in Ireland. His account could conceivably have concerned these Irish estates, or alternatively his period as steward of Pembroke c. 1216, for which see *Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, ed. by Hardy, I, 271.

²⁹ The dispute between Fawkes and William Marshal the younger over the manor of Luton and the lands in Kent first came before the king's justices in the autumn of 1219: *Curia regis Rolls*, VIII, 77–78, 248–52.

³⁰ *Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, ed. by Hardy, I, 458b, also covering the Giffard estates in Hertfordshire and Berkshire.

³¹ See here Sidney Painter, *William Marshal: Knight-Errant, Baron and Regent of England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933), p. 78; Sidney Painter, *King John* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1949), p. 37, citing charters of King John from *Rotuli chartarum*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1837), pp. 47, 74b. For Richard I's charter, in similar terms but lacking a dating clause, perhaps of November 1189, perhaps of March 1190, see *Cartae antiquae Rolls*, ed. by Lionel Landon and J. Conway Davies, Pipe Roll Society, n.s. 17, 33, 2 vols (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1939–60), II, 165–66 no. 564; *The Itinerary of King*

scutage for the Marshal portion of the Giffard lands is recorded, as it is regularly from 1211, the Marshals, both father and son, are to be found paying (or rather pardoned) scutage on the full forty-three knights' fees of their portion, with no apparent intervention by the sheriff.³² Nonetheless, that there were indeed attempts to impede the Marshals' control of their outlying fees, as opposed to their demesne manors, is suggested not only by our document of the 1230s but by later testimony. From this, too, we learn that the Sackvilles of Fawley did not, despite their claims of the 1230s or 1240s, obtain any immediate restoration of the right to view of frankpledge within their own manor of Fawley. Precisely this issue was raised in a country-wide inquest of 1255, when it was declared by the men of the hundred that William de Valence, Henry III's step-brother and heir to this portion of the Marshal estate, pleaded all pleas within Fawley, holding view of frankpledge there.

'Before the war of England', the 1255 inquest was informed, Robert of Braybrooke, the sheriff, had entry there, so that he made the men of the vill follow the county and hundred (courts) paying suit of 10s., until William Marshal the elder, 'by reason of the liberty of the Giffard fee, acquired peace for his fees, as has pertained since'. The words 'liberty of the fee' ('*libertas feodi Giffardi*') and 'acquired' ('*perquisiuit*') in this context clearly echo the language of Bartholomew de Sackville's earlier deposition concerning precisely these rights and events.³³ Robert of Braybrooke was sheriff or deputy-sheriff of Buckinghamshire for most of the

Richard I, ed. by Lionel Landon, Pipe Roll Society, n.s. 13 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1935), p. 17 no. 146A.

³² *PR 13 John*, p. 146; *PR 16 John*, p. 19; *PR 2 Henry III*, p. 64; *PR 3 Henry III*, p. 57; *PR 4 Henry III*, p. 5; *PR 5 Henry III*, p. 198; *PR 6 Henry III*, p. 19; *PR 7 Henry III*, p. 137; *PR 8 Henry III*, pp. 94, 133, and cf. Ivor J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086–1327* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 62–64.

³³ *Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by William Illingworth, 2 vols (London: Record Commission, 1812–18), I, 22, from TNA, SC5/Bucks/Chapter/6: 'Falle dicit quod dominus Will(elmus) de Valentiis in eadem villa placitat omnia placita que vic(ecomes) potest et debet placitare, et habet visum franci pl(egii) in eadem' (thereafter, although not noted in the printed edition, continuing on a separate schedule now sewn to the back left-hand side of the membrane, apparently originally sewn to the front right-hand side next to the Fawley entry) 'Et sciendum est quod an(te) gwerram Angl(ie) habuit Rob(ertus) de Braybroc vic(ecomes) ingressum in eadem villa, ita quod fecit eos sequi com(itatum) et hundr(edum) et dederunt pro secta x. sol(idos) quousque Will(elmus) Marescallus senior, ratione libertatis feodi Giffardi, perquisiuit pacem de feodis suis et ita hucusque optentum est. Sed pro diuturnitate temporis nescimus in quantum dominus rex sit perdens et nescimus quo warranto dominus Will(elmus) de Valenciis nunc tenet.' For the nationwide enquiry of 1255 into encroachments upon royal rights, see David Roffe, 'The Hundred Rolls of 1255', *Historical Research*, 69 (1996), 201–10.

period between 1197 and 1211, so that the 'war of England' mentioned in the 1255 inquest was indeed the civil war of 1215–17. The 1255 inquest implies that the Marshal's recovery of his fees and of full control over the Giffard honour occurred in John's reign, rather than after 1217, but that at some earlier time, perhaps, we might speculate, after the Capetian conquest of Normandy in 1204, or during the period of the Marshal's disgrace and exile to Ireland after 1208, an attack was made upon the integrity of his honour by the local sheriff.³⁴

There is nothing here, save for Bartholomew de Sackville's testimony, to support the claim that it was the Sackvilles, rather than the Marshals, and later William de Valence, who had originally possessed the right to view of frankpledge within the manor of Fawley. Much more likely, it was the Giffard earls who had originally possessed such rights. Alternatively, it is possible that underlying all of the recorded testimony, both from Bartholomew de Sackville after 1234 and before the King's justices in 1255, was an unwarranted extension of seigneurial authority, at first by the King, later by the Marshal earls as heirs to Walter Giffard, squeezing out what had once been the liberties of the Giffard undertenants and with them those of the Sackville lords of Fawley.³⁵ If this was indeed the case, then in his own claims, Bartholomew de Sackville would have had to tread even more carefully, since his petition, dressed up as a complaint against royal encroachments, would in reality have been a complaint to his Marshal lord against encroachments that the Marshals themselves had made. Bartholomew's claims, however, remained no more than that: claims, with very little to support them save for Bartholomew's own clever manipulation of the historical record. Paradoxically, whilst his claims may

³⁴ For Robert as sheriff, first, from Michaelmas 1197, as deputy to William de Aubigny and then Geoffrey fitz Peter, and after 1204 as sheriff in his own right, succeeded after Michaelmas 1211 by Henry his brother, previously his under-sheriff, see *PR 10 Richard I*, p. 8; *PR 6 John*, p. 8; *PR 13 John*, p. 139; *PR 14 John*, p. 123. The period of his sheriffdom reoccurs several times in the inquest of 1255 as a particular focus of memory: *Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by Illingworth, I, 20, 23, 25, 28, 32.

³⁵ For what may have been other such illicit extensions of authority in Buckinghamshire by the Marshal earls, and subsequently by William de Valence as their successor in respect to the manors of Lillingstone and Ashendon, see *Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by Illingworth, I, 23b, 32. In 1258, the then sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire claimed that William de Valence had withdrawn further suits, wards, and view of frankpledge from the sheriff of Buckinghamshire in respect to the manor of Loughton to the value of just over 14s.: TNA, E 101/505/9, as cited by David A. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 100–01, itself drawn to my attention by Huw Ridgeway. For a Jordan de Sackville, assumed to be Bartholomew's son, as witness to an undated charter in favour of William de Valence as lord of Pembroke, see TNA, E40/7118.

have little accuracy in respect to either the 1060s or the 1230s, they do suggest that William Marshal the elder, and after him his son and heir, William the younger, were challenged by the King in their control over their part of the Giffard, supposedly theirs since 1189. Our record may therefore be of more significance for the history of the reign of King John than it is for either that of William I, which it purports to record, or of Henry III, when it was actually written.

All of this was missed by Round who, having set out his evidence in respect to Fawley, and with the blood-line of the Sackvilles duly ticketed and valued, passed on to much more obviously forged family histories and to the absurdities of Mr Louis Napoleon Parker. This is a pity, since by refusing to linger amongst the records of the thirteenth-century courts, Round failed to pursue the lead set by his Fawley evidence into other thirteenth-century pleas and plea rolls. At best, he was prepared to state that the majority of claims to ancestry from the Conquest, set out for example in the 1212 survey into serjeanty and other tenures recorded in the Exchequer *Book of Fees*, were unreliable.³⁶ The merest glance should have alerted Round to the fact that there was a wealth of material to be gathered from these thirteenth-century records that led back, if not directly to the reality of the Norman Conquest and King William, then at the very least to thirteenth-century perceptions of Conquest and Conqueror. I wish for the rest of this study to show how large were the questions the great antiquary slid past, especially what later sources tell us about that area so dear to him, the perception of the Norman Conquest of England. If we cut ourselves free from Round's restrictive interest in the facts of pedigree and place, there are other features to the thirteenth-century records of the Conquest that richly merit attention. To begin with there is the fact that the courts of the thirteenth-century kings could experience great difficulty in establishing the authenticity of older documents, on occasion accepting even the most outrageous forgeries as if they were genuine records of the eleventh-century past. Once again, a few examples will have to suffice. Take, for instance, the absurd rhyming charter, written in Middle English, recited before the King's forest justices in 1324, by which Edward the Confessor was reputed to have granted the hundreds of Chelmsford and Dengie with rights in the Essex forest to a man named Ranulf

³⁶ Round, 'Tales of Conquest', p. 289: 'That even at the time when it was written such a truthful story was a rare thing is seen when we examine the Conquest traditions of an even earlier period enshrined in the jurors' returns of 1212' (citing Round's own paper on 'The Great Inquest of Service', in John Horace Round *The Commune of London and Other Studies* (Westminster: Constable, 1899), pp. 261–77, where there is in fact virtually no discussion of testimony relating to the eleventh- or twelfth-century past.

Peperking, or earlier, and with only slightly greater plausibility, the charter of Edward the Confessor in favour of his servant, Alpheius, granting a messuage in Oakhanger (Hampshire), confirmed but not recited by Henry III in 1250, apparently as part of ongoing disputes over the rights of the then tenant, James of Oakhanger, to alienate his lands, although defined as a royal serjeanty, to Selborne Priory.³⁷ The diplomatic criticism exhibited on these occasions was no more sophisticated than the tests applied in the twelfth century when ancient charters were presented for renewal. It explains, for example, why the court of King Henry II was prepared to accept, in some form (though almost certainly not in the form that the Battle monks later claimed that had been accepted), various of the forged charters of Battle Abbey as if they were genuine records of the Conqueror and of Henry I.³⁸ Given that, even in respect to much more recent documents, the King's courts were hard put to establish forgery, it is perhaps not surprising that their *Quellenkritik* was so crude when applied to the documentary evidences of a more distant past. The disputes between William Marshal the younger and Fawkes de Bréauté of the early 1220s, for example, already touched on in our history of the

³⁷ The Peperking charter was first noticed (apparently from TNA, E 32/16 (Essex Forest Eyre 1324) m. 5), by William Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1586), pp. 239–41 (1594 edn, p. 331, 1722 edn, I, 412), with seventeenth-century copies to be found in BL, MSS Cotton Vitellius A XX, fol. 242^v (245^v); Cotton Titus C I, fol. 3^r (2^r, brief citation only); and Royal 18 C I, fol. 27^v, whence various later printings, for example, by John Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments* (London: W. Tooke, 1767), pp. 363–64; Thomas Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Discourses Written by Eminent Antiquaries upon Several Heads in our English Antiquities*, 2 vols (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771), II, 35–36 (brief citation after the Cotton Titus copy); John Holland, *The History, Antiquities and Description of the Town and Parish of Worksop in the County of Nottingham* (Sheffield: J. Blackwell, 1826), p. 7. For the charter to Alpheius, presumably the TRE tenant of Oakhanger named in Domesday as Alfwy, see *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, I: 1226–57, p. 349, from TNA, C 53/43 (Charter Roll 35 Henry III) m. 14: 'Sciatis quod donationem et concessionem quam rex Edwardus fecit Alpheo seruienti suo de quodam mesuagio cum pertin(entiis) in Akehanger' ratam habemus et gratam et eam pro nobis et heredibus nostris concedimus et confirmamus sicut carta predicti regis Edwardi quam eidem Alpheo super hoc fieri fecit rationabiliter testatur.' For this same lost charter of Edward the Confessor, and for disputed transactions involving James of Oakhanger's serjeanty tenure and Selborne Priory, see *Close Rolls, 1247–51*, p. 511; *Calendar of Charters and Documents Relating to Selborne and its Priory*, ed. by William D. Macray, Hampshire Record Society, 4, 9, 2 vols (London: Simpkin for the Hampshire Record Society, 1891–94), esp. I, 78–79.

³⁸ Nicholas Vincent, 'Henry II and the Monks of Battle: The Battle Chronicle Unmasked', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. by Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 264–86.

Marshal lordship of Fawley, involved the production of what the Marshal claimed were forged or doctored charters. The 'forged' documents were less than a decade old, and yet the courts failed definitively to prove or disprove the forgery.³⁹

Even so, we should not exaggerate the degree to which thirteenth-century lawyers or chancery clerks lacked all diplomatic common sense. Relatively few outrageous Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman forgeries were formally confirmed by the chanceries of later English kings. The absurd Peperking charter, for example, although produced before the Essex forest eyre, was never officially reissued in a chancery or Exchequer inspeximus. Significantly, when the royal chancery did agree to reissue or inspect early charters, it tended to do so as part of a longer series of documents, so that Anglo-Saxon or early Anglo-Norman charters were recited at the head of a sequence of inspected documents in which they would generally be followed by the confirmation of charters issued in similar terms by subsequent Anglo-Norman or Angevin kings. Here, it seems not to have been widely noticed how rarely, before 1300, the royal chancery officially 'renewed' ancient evidences. Only seven Anglo-Saxon charters were accorded full inspeximuses in the charter or patent rolls of the royal chancery through to the end of the reign of Edward I. Of these seven, the first of them not inspected until 1260, four were recited in combination with later, post-Conquest awards.⁴⁰ During the same period, beginning in 1253, six charters of William I were similarly inspected, only one of them as an isolated text, all of the others in combination with later Anglo-Norman charters.⁴¹ Rather as with the account in the Saint Alban's *Gesta abbatum* — of

³⁹ *Curia regis Rolls*, VIII, 249–52.

⁴⁰ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, II: 1257–1300, pp. 31, 70, 324, 327; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, III: 1300–1326, p. 17; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward I*, 4 vols (London: HMSO, 1893–1901), II: 1281–92, p. 26 (S 136, 838, 904, 1000, 1055, 1157, 1226). Before 1300, a further eighteen Anglo-Saxon charters were recorded in the *Cartae antiquae Rolls* (TNA, C 52), but without full inspeximus in the chancery: S 4, 779, 990, 1002, 1036, 1038, 1041, 1043, 1045, 1051, 1054–55, 1084, 1091, 1094–96, 1217. These too, however, tend to be recorded only as part of a longer sequence of charters including renewals from the time of Henry I or later. See below, note 41.

⁴¹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, I: 1226–57, p. 436; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, II: 1257–1300, pp. 131–32, 193–94; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward I*, II: 1281–92, p. 26; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward I*, IV: 1301–7, p. 150 (Bates, *Regesta*, nos 2, 3, 220, 227, 253, 346). During the same period, without full inspeximus, eighteen charters of William I were recorded in the *Cartae antiquae Rolls*: Bates, *Regesta*, nos 20(ii), 22, 23(ii), 38, 80–81, 99(i), 111, 115, 122, 141, 146, 160, 185, 187–88, 194, 272. Once again, of these, all save one were inserted in the roll together with later confirmations by Henry I or his successors: *Cartae antiquae Rolls*, ed. by Landon and Davies, I, nos 1–3, 40, 49, 109–10, 208–10, 260, 265, II, nos 448, 454, 481, 541, the exception being II, no. 424 (for Durham).

Henry II, undecided as to the authenticity of unsealed Anglo-Saxon diplomas, but more than happy to confirm a sealed charter of Henry I in which these Anglo-Saxon grants had themselves been confirmed — the royal chancery, at least to begin with, seems to have been wary in its approach to the Anglo-Saxon past and to have taken the view that there was safety in numbers, so that eleventh-century charters that initiated a series of later confirmations and reissues were more to be trusted than those which stood alone.⁴² This was not a foolproof test. Forgers merely learned to fashion their own series of inspeimuses and confirmations to supply their confections with context.⁴³ Nonetheless, it rendered forgery that much less likely to succeed.

Beyond this, it is worth pointing to two absences of evidence that in some ways are just as significant as the evidence that does survive. The first is that charters of William I, William II, and even of Henry I were pleaded relatively infrequently in the thirteenth-century courts. As Paul Brand has demonstrated, this was not necessarily because there was any recognized 'statute of limitations' excluding evidences from before some arbitrary date of 'legal memory'. Such a limitation, Brand argues, developed only slowly, towards the end of the thirteenth century, and even then did not preclude the citation of early evidences provided that evidence was also supplied for seisin or possession into later times. The limit of legal memory was understood by lawyers of the early thirteenth century to have been established around the year 1100, the beginning of the reign of Henry I, drifting thereafter to 1135, then to 1154, and by the time of the first Statute of Westminster (1275) to the accession of Richard I in 1189. In theory, after 1275, evidences earlier than 1189 were no longer acceptable in court. In practice, such evidences continued to be cited, not least in response to pleas of *quo warranto*.⁴⁴ It was at precisely this time, and in direct contradiction of any attempt to impose a limit upon ancient evidences, that Domesday Book came into its own, as the principal warrant for proving or disproving claims to ancient demesne status for peasants anxious to

⁴² 'Gesta abbatum', in *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley, Rolls Series, 28, 7 vols (London: Longman Green, 1863–76), IV, 1, 151, noticed and used to considerable effect by George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 302–03.

⁴³ See here the notorious case dealt with by Martin Brett, 'Forgery at Rochester', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, MGH Schriften 33, 6 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 1988–90), IV, 397–412, and also the case of Battle, dealt with by Vincent, 'Henry II and the Monks of Battle'.

⁴⁴ Paul Brand, "'Time Out of Mind": The Knowledge and Use of the Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Past in Thirteenth-Century Litigation', *ANS*, 16 (1993), 37–54.

avoid tallage and other seigneurial burdens.⁴⁵ In the *quo warranto* pleas of the later thirteenth century, we find many eleventh-century or earlier charters cited in evidence to prove the grant or possession of liberties. It is nonetheless important to note here, as Paul Brand has already signalled, that such charters were cited exclusively by ecclesiastical rather than by secular franchise holders.⁴⁶ Here lies our second significant absence.

By the thirteenth century, lay landlords were either tacitly forbidden to cite early charters in court (an unlikely scenario this), or there were virtually no charters of the Conqueror or of earlier kings in the possession of such landlords. Occasionally, in the twelfth century, we find private landholders citing charters of the Conqueror. For example, a charter of Henry II to Baldwin fitz Harding claims to confirm a grant made in an earlier charter of William I ('rex Willelmus primus') in favour of Baldwin's ancestors.⁴⁷ By contrast, when thirteenth-century pleas refer to grants by the Conqueror, it is either to charters granted to ecclesiastical institutions, or to land and liberties granted by the Conqueror to barons and knights, with no mention of written evidences. The lawyers themselves were conscious of this disparity: the first clause of the Provisions of Westminster (1259), dealing with suit of court, was deliberately drafted so as to protect the interests of anyone 'enfeoffed without a charter from the time of the Conquest or by any other ancient enfeoffment'.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See here Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Domesday Book Through Nine Centuries* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), pp. 49–51, 74–113.

⁴⁶ Brand, "Time Out of Mind", pp. 37–38.

⁴⁷ *Letters and Charters of King Henry II*, ed. by Nicholas Vincent and others (Oxford, forthcoming), no. 956, confirming land at Doddington (Somerset) to Baldwin fitz Harding 1155x58: 'Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse Baldewino filio Hardingi totam terram patris sui ita in elemosina sibi et heredibus suis ad tenend(am) de fratribus sancti Hospital(is) Ierlm', scilicet tres virgatas terre de Dodetona sicut rex Willelmus primus et rex Willelmus secundus et rex H(enricus) auus meus illam antecessoribus suis in elemosinam in feod(o) et hereditat(e) concesserunt per cartas suas, et ita liberam et quietam sicut mea propria est de corona mea' (not noticed in Bates, *Regesta*), and cf. no. 1235, for a charter of Henry II confirming the seneschalcy of Bury St Edmund's to Ralph of Hastings 'sicut carte regis W(illelmi) et regis H(enrici) auorum meorum testantur', the King William here being William Rufus (cf. *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. by David C. Douglas (London: British Academy, 1932), p. 60, no. 17; *RRAN*, I, no. lxii). Both of these charters of Henry II, it should be noticed, survive as copies in monastic archives, from Buckland Priory and from Bury St Edmunds.

⁴⁸ *Close Rolls, 1259–61*, p. 146, whence *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion 1258–1267*, ed. by Reginald F. Treharne and Ivor J. Sanders (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 138–39; noticed by Brand, "Time Out of Mind", p. 53.

Michael Clanchy's use of the famous story of Earl Warenne, offering to present his rusted sword rather than a parchment charter as warrant for his seisin since the Conquest, serves in many ways as the starting point for Clanchy's investigation of the clash between memory and written record.⁴⁹ Archive keeping on behalf of the greater landowning families was no doubt far less efficient than that practised within the monastic world. But the inability of secular landowners after 1200 to cite early written evidences suggests that such landowners possessed few or no eleventh-century evidences for their successors to preserve.

All of this may no doubt seem mere truism. The consequences are nonetheless momentous, since they ensure that our charter evidences for the Conqueror are biased very heavily in favour of charters preserved by ecclesiastical institutions. One effect here has perhaps been overlooked. In recent years, there has been a lively debate over the existence or non-existence, substantiality, insubstantiality, or even transubstantiality of the 'chancery' as a meaningful concept in eleventh- or twelfth-century English history.⁵⁰ If we look forward seventy years from the reign of William the Conqueror, the chief proof that Henry II maintained a chancery producing a majority of the king's charters and writs 'in house' is that all of the fifty or so surviving original charters of Henry II in favour of laymen are written in recognizably 'chancery' hands. In Henry II's reign, ecclesiastical beneficiaries continued to produce charters in the king's name, written in their own scriptoria. Lay beneficiaries apparently did not. In failing to do so, they reveal that Henry II's chancery was established on a more sophisticated level than we might otherwise suppose, were we to judge solely on the basis of charters produced for ecclesiastical beneficiaries. If we return now to the reign and the chancery of William I, the fact that we have no original charters save for those issued in favour of the Church deprives us of one of our principal means of testing the degree to which the King was or was not capable of issuing such charters 'in house'. There is a risk of circularity in this argument. Nonetheless, the apparently high level of beneficiary production of charters of the Conqueror, when compared to that of later kings, may be not so much an indication of the primitive nature of William's chancery but a function of the evidential bias towards charters for ecclesiastical beneficiaries capable of writing their own charters 'in house', and away from those for private beneficiaries, who were not.

So much for the Conqueror's charters and chancery. What of the Conqueror himself? What do our thirteenth-century evidences tell us about perceptions both of Conqueror and of Conquest? First a very obvious point, but one that seems

⁴⁹ Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (London: Arnold, 1979), pp. 21–28.

⁵⁰ Bates, *Regesta*, pp. 96–109.

previously to have been ignored. In 1989, Michel de Boüard sought to identify the earliest occasions on which William I was credited with the nicknames 'William the Bastard' or 'William the Conqueror'. The first name, 'the Bastard', was in circulation at least as early as the twelfth century. By contrast, de Boüard suggested, the name 'William the Conqueror' did not come into use until much later, being first recorded in the chronicle of Peter Langtoft, composed around 1300, and perhaps representing a version of William's name that had circulated, unrecorded, as a popular tradition amongst the northern counties of England.⁵¹ This is an interesting theory. It is also spectacularly wrong. The merest glance at the thirteenth-century plea rolls is sufficient to demonstrate that the title 'William the Conqueror', or often merely 'the Conqueror', was already the accepted and standard way of referring to the first of the Norman kings long before 1300.

From the very first occasion when surviving plea rolls refer to the first of the Norman kings, in the Trinity term of 1199 (the first year of King John), William is officially and regularly named 'Willelmus conquestor' or 'Willelmus rex conquestor', sometimes thereafter expanded, as in the forms 'dominus Willelmus conquestor Anglie' or 'Willelmus conquestor Anglie'.⁵² Many dozens of cases could be cited here, and no doubt there are many dozens of others still unnoticed in the rolls. The nickname 'William the Bastard' also occurs in 'official' sources, most notably in the returns to the 1212 inquest into tenure, as very much the preferred form, and again in the later thirteenth-century Hundred Rolls and *quo warranto* proceedings where it merges into the forms 'Willelmus Bastardus rex conquestor Anglie' or merely 'Willelmus Bastardus conquestor'.⁵³ Here, moreover, we find the

⁵¹ Michel de Boüard, 'Note sur l'appellation "Guillaume le Conquérant"', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth, and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 21–26.

⁵² 'Willelmus conquestor' or 'Willelmus rex conquestor': *Rotuli curiae regis*, ed. by Francis Palgrave, 2 vols (London: Record Commission, 1835), I, 391–92, 413–14, II, 6–7; *Curia regis Rolls*, I, 449, III, 118–19, V, 139, XVI, no. 132; *Placitorum abbreviatio*, ed. by William Illingworth (London: Record Commission, 1811), pp. 196, 249 (temp Edward I), p. 338 (Edward II); *Placita de quo warranto*, ed. by William Illingworth (London: Record Commission, 1818), pp. 86, 93, 167, 236, 254, 259, 275, 279, 282, 298, 333–34, 364, 367, 369–70, 374, 382, 384, 386, 409, 667, 739; *Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by Illingworth, I, 78, 93, 241, II, 49, 254, with variants 'dominus Willelmus conquestor Anglie' (*Placita de quo warranto*, p. 90; *Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by Illingworth, I, 241) or 'Willelmus conquestor Anglie' (*Placita de quo warranto*, p. 236), and cf. Rufus as 'Willelmus rex filius conquestoris' (*Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by Illingworth, I, 464).

⁵³ 'Willelmus Bastardus rex Anglie', or minor variants on the same: *Book of Fees*, I, 90, 92–94, 132, 136–38, 152, 204–05, II, 864, 1263, 1275, 1277–78, 1345, 1365. 'Willelmus Bastardus rex

distinctly vernacular, French forms 'Willelmus le Bastard', or even 'le Bastart', suggesting that we may be dealing with the memory of witnesses, thinking and speaking in the vernacular, rather than with the official terminology of the King's commissioners, whose records were kept in Latin.⁵⁴ To witnesses in court, William was most often 'the Bastard'. To those who drew up official records, he tended to remain 'the Conqueror'. Other, more unusual forms appear from time to time: 'rex Willelmus senex' from the 1220s;⁵⁵ 'Willelmus rex primus' from the twelfth century and beyond;⁵⁶ 'Willelmus Anglorum debellator' in a Westminster charter issued by King John in 1204;⁵⁷ and, by the end of the thirteenth century, 'rex Willelmus dux Normannorum',⁵⁸ the bizarre but intriguing 'Willelmus rex Anglie dux Normannorum et dominus Insularum',⁵⁹ or even the apparently tautologous 'dominus rex Willelmus qui venit ad conquestum Anglie'.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, all of these references to 'conquest' and a 'conqueror' lead us on to another set of questions, directly related to the historiography of the Conquest itself.

Such references fit easily into the account of a 'Norman Empire' or a 'Colonial England' advanced in the twentieth century by writers such as John Le Patourel and J. C. Holt, but within a context that excites little of the theoretical agonizing that the disciples of these modern authorities have brought to the subject. If we take the issue of the 'Conquest' itself, and the supposed need of the Normans, after 1066, to legitimize this event, the arguments of S. F. C. Milsom and George Garnett, insofar as they turn ultimately on the question of tenure, seem to take the view that tenure was nine-tenths a matter of the law. Possession, in this philosophy, is shunted off to a very leafy siding. What our thirteenth-century plea roll evidence suggests, by contrast, is that there was a very keen awareness, both amongst lawyers and amongst litigants, that something had happened in the reign of William I to

conquestor Anglie': *Placita de quo warranto*, p. 187, and cf. pp. 198–99, 201. 'Willelmus Bastard conquestor': *Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by Illingworth, I, 474.

⁵⁴ *Book of Fees*, I, 87 ('antequam dominus Willelmus Bastart venisset in Angliam', 1212), and thereafter, see *Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by Illingworth, I, 69, 77, 91, 339, 344, 434, 466–67, II, 637.

⁵⁵ *Curia regis Rolls*, XI, no. 2057.

⁵⁶ Above, note 47; *Rotuli chartarum*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 83, 153, 153b; *Book of Fees*, I, 95–97, 99–100, 116, 120, 133; *Placita de quo warranto*, p. 287.

⁵⁷ *Rotuli chartarum*, ed. by Hardy, p. 139b.

⁵⁸ *Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by Illingworth, II, 258.

⁵⁹ *Placita de quo warranto*, p. 837.

⁶⁰ *Book of Fees*, I, 71; *Curia regis Rolls*, XII, no. 2577; *Bracton's Note Book*, ed. by Frederic William Maitland, 3 vols (London: Clay & Sons, 1887), II, 90 no. 102.

alter the entire basis of possession, and with it of tenure, but that it was not something which lawyers were required either to explain or to justify. This may state the blindingly obvious, but if so, the blindingly obvious may need to be stated, if only to brush away some of the more intricate webs of legal argument that have been spun around the Conqueror and his claims. There is an irony here, but a revealing one. Modern historians of the Conquest, particularly the legal historians, tend to argue very much like lawyers, undercutting the evidence that does not suit their cause, seeking theoretical legal principles to underpin their history, even when one suspects that such theoretical principles were foreign to the period to which they are assigned. They also have a tendency to argue in an Anglo-Norman vacuum, without noting the analogies between 1066 and other acts of conquest, in Sicily, earlier by the Carolingians in Bavaria or Saxony, or later by the Franks in Outremer. The lawyers and the litigants of the thirteenth century, by contrast, at least in their attitudes to the Conquest of 1066, argued much more as historians are supposed to argue: tenure that could be traced back to the reign of 'the Conqueror' or to 'the Conquest of England' was placed in a particular category, hallowed by time and worthy of notice for its antiquity, but requiring no particular legal justification.

It remains doubtful whether there was an 'officially' formulated 'right of conquest' devised in England after 1066, or indeed after Cnut's conquest of the 1010s, to compare, for example, to the rights of conquest claimable under Islamic law from the seventh century onwards, in which territory surrendered by its inhabitants ('sulhan') was afforded more favourable treatment than territory taken by force in conquest ('anwatan') where the native landholders were deemed to have forfeited all property rights, holding any land thereafter against payment of tax.⁶¹ Nonetheless, those who ultimately framed the common law were surely aware of the rights which conquest could confer. Conquest, after all, was the principal means by which kings extended their territories: a trial by battle, testing God's judgement upon the opposing sides in an ordeal, albeit an ordeal on a scale quite different from that of the ordeals which twelfth- and thirteenth-century law courts were accustomed to recognize.⁶² Richard de Lucy is famously reputed to have remarked, according to

⁶¹ For the dichotomy between 'anwatan' and 'sulhan', apparently accepted as early as the seventh century, see Gustav E. von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam: A History 600 A.D. to 1258 A.D.*, trans. by Katherine Watson (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), p. 56.

⁶² For a largely theoretical introduction here, see Sharon Korman, *The Right of Conquest: The Acquisition of Territory by Force in International Law and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), only briefly (p. 11) touching upon the medieval world. For the medieval context, see Maurice H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965).

the Battle chronicle, that 'by the conquest at Battle were we all enfeoffed'.⁶³ Ranulf de Glanville, yet another of the 'fathers' of the common law, was the son of a man who had prospered from the taking of Lisbon, part of that great 'reconquest' of the Iberian Peninsula whose right was advertised as a Christian obligation. Others attached to the courts of Henry II had direct experience of Norman Sicily or of Norman or Angevin Wales or Ireland, regions where 'conquest' had occurred and had been justified with only half-hearted recourse to ideas of 'reconquest' or the Christian recovery of lands lost to the faith. The Welsh Marches, indeed, seemed to at least some landlords of the 1280s to supply evidence of a 'right of conquest' vested in private individuals, in which conquered land and its attendant liberties belonged first and foremost to the individual baronial conquerors, only later and to some extent accidentally being brought under the jurisdiction and overlordship of the king. Applied to the Norman Conquest after 1066, this threatened to replace the principal of the king as universal tenant-in-chief and of baronial or knightly liberties as deputed regalia with an idea of conquest and lordship based upon baronial rather than royal initiative. Not surprisingly, the king's justices dealt briskly and, on the whole, entirely unsympathetically with such claims.⁶⁴

Nor was it only Franks or Normans whose conquests were celebrated after 1066. Any reader of Bede could hardly escape the impression that God had conferred rights of conquest, even upon pagan peoples such as the Anglo-Saxons, in punishment for a native population disobedient to God's laws. The popularity of Bede in the immediate aftermath of 1066 is generally put down to his celebration of the achievements of the Anglo-Saxon past. Bede, so it has been argued, supplied nostalgic comfort to the vanquished, and a plan of action and cultural renaissance for the victors of the Norman Conquest.⁶⁵ But Bede served not merely to praise the Anglo-Saxons: in the context of 1066, and in justifying the Anglo-Saxons and their conquest of England, he could be made to bury them. 'It was not long before hordes of these people eagerly crowded into the island and the number of foreigners began

⁶³ *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. by Eleanor Searle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 310–11: 'de conquestione apud Bellum facta feodati sumus', cited with useful commentary by Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 351.

⁶⁴ Donald W. Sutherland, *Quo Warranto Proceedings in the Reign of Edward I 1278–1294* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 82–85, 101–02, 114n., 183–84.

⁶⁵ Ralph H. C. Davis, 'Bede After Bede', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. by Harper-Bill and others, pp. 103–16, nonetheless noting (at p. 116) that, beyond his nostalgic value, Bede, like Orderic Vitalis, was 'recounting the history of a people in countries that were not, or had not originally been their own'.

to increase to such an extent that they became a source of terror to the natives [...]. The just Judge ordained that the fire of the victors should ravage all the neighbouring cities and countryside.' This, with minor adjustments, is Bede on the conquering Anglo-Saxons of the fifth century. It could just as well be William of Malmesbury or Orderic Vitalis on the Norman conquerors of the 1060s.⁶⁶

In the later reflections upon 1066, as reported in our court records, we find claims to land, to liberties, to markets, even to fishing rights specifically dated 'de conquestu' or 'a conquestu Anglie'.⁶⁷ Very occasionally, litigants might seek to look back to circumstances before 1066. In the 1230s, for example, we find the prior of Selborne claiming that the church of Basingstoke had always held a particular estate 'semper a conquestu Anglie et etiam ante conquestum'.⁶⁸ 'Ante conquestum' occurs again, in a plea involving a Norfolk rector claiming that land had belonged to his church 'tempore Anglorum et ante conquestum terre'.⁶⁹ Elsewhere, in an inquest of 1212, we find the Bishop of Salisbury laying claim to property held 'de antiquo tempore regum Anglorum ante conquestum Normannorum',⁷⁰ a potent reminder that, by the thirteenth century, 'the old time of the English kings' was believed to have ended two centuries earlier. Much that was stated in these claims was clearly anachronistic. Most notably, we find thirteenth-century litigants laying claim to 'enfeoffments' or even to specific knights' fees created not just in the time of the Conqueror but, in some instances, before 1066.⁷¹ Nonetheless, there is nothing whatsoever here of Garnett's rediscovery, more rightly, perhaps, a jurisprudential mummification, of what is advertised as Lanfranc's brainchild: a system of special pleading, founded upon legal principles, in which the Conqueror was justified

⁶⁶ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 52–53 (i.15).

⁶⁷ Amongst a host of potential examples, see *Curia regis Rolls*, I, 263; V, 177, 311; VI, 106, 296, 304, 311; VII, 137; VIII, 123; IX, 138, 214, 219, 340; XI, nos 468, 651, 941, 1046, 1755, 2599; XII, no. 2528; XIII, nos 108, 248, 424, 2659; XIV, no. 1653; XV, nos 814, 1146, 1444, 1474; XVII, nos 318, 1087, 2239; *Book of Fees*, I, 68–69, 71, 92, 94, 100, 137.

⁶⁸ *Curia regis Rolls*, XVI, no. 1314.

⁶⁹ *Curia regis Rolls*, XVII, no. 1659.

⁷⁰ *Book of Fees*, I, 90, and cf. p. 92 for gifts to Hyde Abbey 'de dono regum Anglorum'.

⁷¹ See, for example, *Curia regis Rolls*, XI, no. 2381; *Rotuli hundredorum*, ed. by Illingworth, II, 49, 637. Before the inquest of 1212, it was regularly reported that knights' fees, or even fractions of a knight's fee, had been created 'de conquestu Anglie', or were held 'in baronia de conquestu Anglie' or 'de dono Willelmi regis Anglie': *Book of Fees*, I, 69, 71, 91–92, 96, 100, 133.

and hallowed as the heir of Edward the Confessor.⁷² On the contrary, in the thirteenth-century court records, the Conquest is presented as a historical fact marking a great caesura between a period 'before' and a period 'after'. In this system, the Conqueror was not the heir to but the great disrupter of what went before.

Not everybody argued like this: to some there was a different scenario, never more forcibly expressed than in the work of that Westminster forger in whose con-fected terminology King Henry II was made to refer to Edward the Confessor as the 'king of blessed memory, my kinsman, who appointed my great-grandfather and his sons as adopted heirs in his realm'.⁷³ As this suggests, there undoubtedly were attempts, and official attempts at that, to stress continuity across the yawning gulf of 1066. As late as the 1240s, in the legal record with which I began this survey, we have found a relatively humble knight, albeit a knight with a particular interest in stressing the noble motives of his Norman ancestors, suggesting that the events of 1066 were an 'acquisition', not a 'conquest'. To Henry II and his successors, in their own charters, Edward the Confessor was 'cognatus meus', 'predecessor meus', or 'ancestor noster' every bit as much as William I was 'proavus meus' or 'predecessor noster'.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, in the day-to-day business of the courts, the 'conquest', with or without a capital letter, remained precisely that: a military and extra-legal fait accompli that had brought in one set of landowners and deprived another set of their estates. What was 'ante conquestum' was set apart, in legal memory, from that which emerged 'post'. For anyone with an ancestor 'qui venit in conquestu',

⁷² Garnett, *Conquered England*, esp. chap. 1.

⁷³ *Letters and Charters of Henry II*, ed. by Vincent and others, no. 2807: 'Sciatis communiter me pro redemptione anime mee et patris et matris mee necnon et aui mei gloriosi regis Henr(ici) et beate memorie regis Eadwardi cognati mei, qui proauum meum liberosque illius in regnum suum adoptiuos heredes instituerat, accepisse in manu mea et defensione totum honorem ecclesie sancti Petri Westmonasterii', in a charter supposedly issued at Dover 1155x58, in reality a forgery, by a Westminster scribe, late twelfth century.

⁷⁴ See, for example, *Letters and Charters of Henry II*, ed. by Vincent and others, no. 909 (a charter of Henry II to Fécamp, 1154x58, probably forged, confirming 'cartas Ric(ardi) ducis Normann(or)um et Willelmi regis Angl(or)um et aliorum predecessorum meorum'), or the unimpeachable no. 364 in favour of the monks of Bury St Edmunds (1155x58) confirming liberties 'sicut rex Aedwardus et rex Willelmus et rex Henricus antecessores mei suis cartis confirmauerunt', or the equally unimpeachable no. 368 (1155x58) confirming rights of free election to the Bury monks 'sicut antecessores mei rex Edwardus et rex Henricus auus meus predictam libertatem concesserunt iamdicto conuentui et cartis suis quas vidi confirmauerunt'. Edward the Confessor and William I are included amongst the kings listed as 'antecessores' or 'predecessores' in charters of King John: *Rotuli chartarum*, ed. by Hardy, pp. 38b, 117.

who gained their land from 'rex Willelmus conquestor', 'in conquestu Anglie', or whose families held 'a conquestu', the 'time of the English' was a time long past. Those who could prove possession of estates from before 1066 proved possession hallowed by time, but this in itself did not relieve them of the necessity of proving possession not merely 'ante conquestum' but 'post'. Hence, no doubt, the deliberate exclusion, from at least the 1150s onwards, of claims to land advanced by Englishmen ('Anglici') save by those who could prove tenure from 1135 or afterwards. There could be no licence for claims that leapt backwards across the great gulf of 1066 to 'English', that is, to Anglo-Saxon charters or tenures that the Conquest itself had wiped clean.⁷⁵ The message here, at least as revealed through our thirteenth-century records, was not so much that the Normans and hence the kings of the present day were heirs to Anglo-Saxon forebears, not even as a result of some clever thinking done by lawyers in Archbishop Lanfranc's back parlour, but an altogether cruder assumption: 'Carthago delenda est', or perhaps, for Anglo-Saxonists in apocalyptic mode, 'Cecidit, cecidit Babylon magna, et facta est habitatio demoniorum'. As conclusion to this present essay, itself a homage to J. H. Round, David Bates, and their celebration of the 'Normannitas' of the Anglo-Norman past, such phrases are intended to sound not a tragic or recessional, but a suitably triumphant note.

⁷⁵ As noted by Brand, "'Time Out of Mind'", p. 37, and earlier by Stenton, Van Caenegem, Hyams, and others, with this 'statute' or assize referred to in at least three writs of Henry II: *Letters and Charters of Henry II*, ed. by Vincent and others, nos 779 (Dover), 2857 (Winchester), 2902 (Worcester). Garnett (*Conquered England*, pp. 348–49) contests this interpretation, suggesting that what was at stake here was not the blocking of claims advanced by Englishmen to tenures disrupted by the Norman Conquest, but a deliberate relaxation of the system that elsewhere refused to recognize claims to tenure based on seisin during the period of 'anarchy' between 1135 and 1154. Garnett is perhaps led astray here by an obsession with the legal memory of Stephen's reign. His own demonstration that the tenures of 1135–54 were not otherwise admissible as a basis for claims itself suggests that the older interpretation of the claims of 'Anglici', by Stenton, Hyams, Brand, and others, was much the more plausible one, and that Henry II's supposed assize imposed exceptional rigour, not exceptional licence, upon the claims of 'Englishmen'.

Appendix

Proof submitted, probably in the honorial court of the earls of Pembroke, of the claim of Bartholomew de Sackville to view of frankpledge in his manor of Fawley, Bucks. (c. 1235 x 1245)

Words in italics are those omitted in Round's edition of 1910.

B = BL, Additional Charter 27143.

Endorsed: various pen strokes and practice letters (s. xiii/xiv); *Ric' Hampesson* (s. xvii/xviii). Sow holes for filing at bottom, but not at top. Approx. 203 x 123 mm. Hand of the mid s. xiii.

Ostendit d(omi)no suo dominus B. de Saukauill' *quod, si domino placeret et ei, deberet habere libertatem visus franci plegii ad manerium suum de Fall' de iure. Ob has causas dicit de iure sicut sepe^a referre solet vir strenuus et egregie memorie dominus Ric(ardus) Marescallus antequam esset comes factus.* Comes Giffardus, antecessor domini Marescalli, veniens ad perquisitionem Anglie, tradidit totam terram suam de Normannia custodiendam cuidam senescallo suo qui vocabatur Esbrandus, qui eam egregie custodiuit, et constabularium de Archis et alios exigentes indebitas consuetudines de terris domini sui cepit et detinuit. Perquisita autem Anglia, data fuerunt domino com(iti) Giffardo omnia maneria que fuerunt Eluiue la Wode, inter que fuit manerium de Fall', et dominus comes Giff(ardus) statim mandauit senescallum suum de Norm(annia) ut custodiret omnes terras suas in Anglia et eas^b disponeret, quia vir prudens erat et fidel(is). Qui statim, audito^c mandato domini sui, aduolauit in Angl(iam) et veniens ad dominum suum nunciauit ei quo fecerat. Dominus autem eius fecit eum senescallum de omnibus terris quas perquisierat, et in primis dedit ei pro seruitio suo et probitate electionem duorum maneriorum suorum, s(cilicet) de Crenend' aut Fall', et ipse eleg(it) Fall' pro pulcritudine loci, et dominus comes ei concessit cum omnibus pertin(entiis) et libertatibus sicut ipse tenuerat. Qui possedit et habuit per totam vitam suam cum visu franci pl(egii) et omnibus aliis libertatibus. Mortuo autem Esbrando, successit ei Iord(anus) filius suus et heres, qui in pace tenuit sicut pater eius facerat per totam vitam suam, sed non multum vixit. Mortuo autem Iord(ano), successit ei filius eius et heres Willelmus, qui similiter in pace tenuit cum omnibus libertatibus usque ad mortem com(itis) Giffardi, quo mortuo, satellites reg(is) ceperunt omnes terras que sue fuerant in manu reg(is) et feoda *extrinseca*, et fecerunt omnes homines tam dominiorum quam villarum *extrinsecarum* sequi com(itatum) et hundred(um) usque ad illud tempus quo, D(e)o disponente, domina comitissa, mater domini

Marescalli, data fuit illustri viro sancte memorie Willelmo Marescallo. Quo facto, reddita fuit ei libertas dominiorum suorum, sed non feodorum^d extrincecorum, *sed* feoda extrinceca *supersequebantur* com(itatum) usque post gwerram. Finita autem gwerra, iussum fuit ut quislibet homo *perdaret*^e iura sua. Dominus vero *ac bonus imo*^f *optimus* W(illelmus) Marescallus hoc sciens *sibi* et suis iniuste detineri, impetrauit a rege Iohanne libertatem feodorum extrincecorum et optinuit. Quo audito, dominus Iord(anus) de Sauk' impetrauit a domino suo Marescallo libertatem manerii de Fall' et optinuit *per* tres vel plures annos^g *donec* Falco de Breute per quandam falsam assisam abstulit domino com(ite) Will(elm)o iuniori libertatem suam feodorum illorum, quam dominus rex ei restituit per perqui(sitionem) Alani de la Hida *postquam sciuit* eum iniuste esse spoliatum. Set dominus Iord(anus) de Sauk' *nichil ausus erat dicere domino com(iti) de libertate sua q(uonia)m quidam habentes eum odio peiorauerant eum versus dominum com(item) pro quodam compoto qui ab eo exigebatur. Sed dominus Ric(ardus) Marescallus promiserat ei quod faceret neg(otiu)m suum versus dominum com(item) de libertate sua. Sed ambo morte preuenti, libertate sua non sibi restituta, rede(gi) erunt a medio. Un(de) dominus B(artholomeus) de Sauk' pro tali saisina antecessorum suorum eam sibi petit restitui, et sci(endum)*^h *est quod dominus de Fall' debet et solet*ⁱ *mittere tercia die an(te)*^k *vel quarta pro seruiente de Caueresham ut veniat ad vidend(um) quod pax domini com(itis) bene obseruetur.*

^a sepe inserted over the line ^b eas with a letter 'i' over the under-dotted 'a' of eas apparently for correction to eis ^c audite corrected to audito ^d feodorum MS ^e vendicaret with perdaret written above ^f imo MS, ?recte homo ^g annos inserted over the line ^h reading uncertain ⁱ et solet over the line ^k an(te) inserted over the line

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